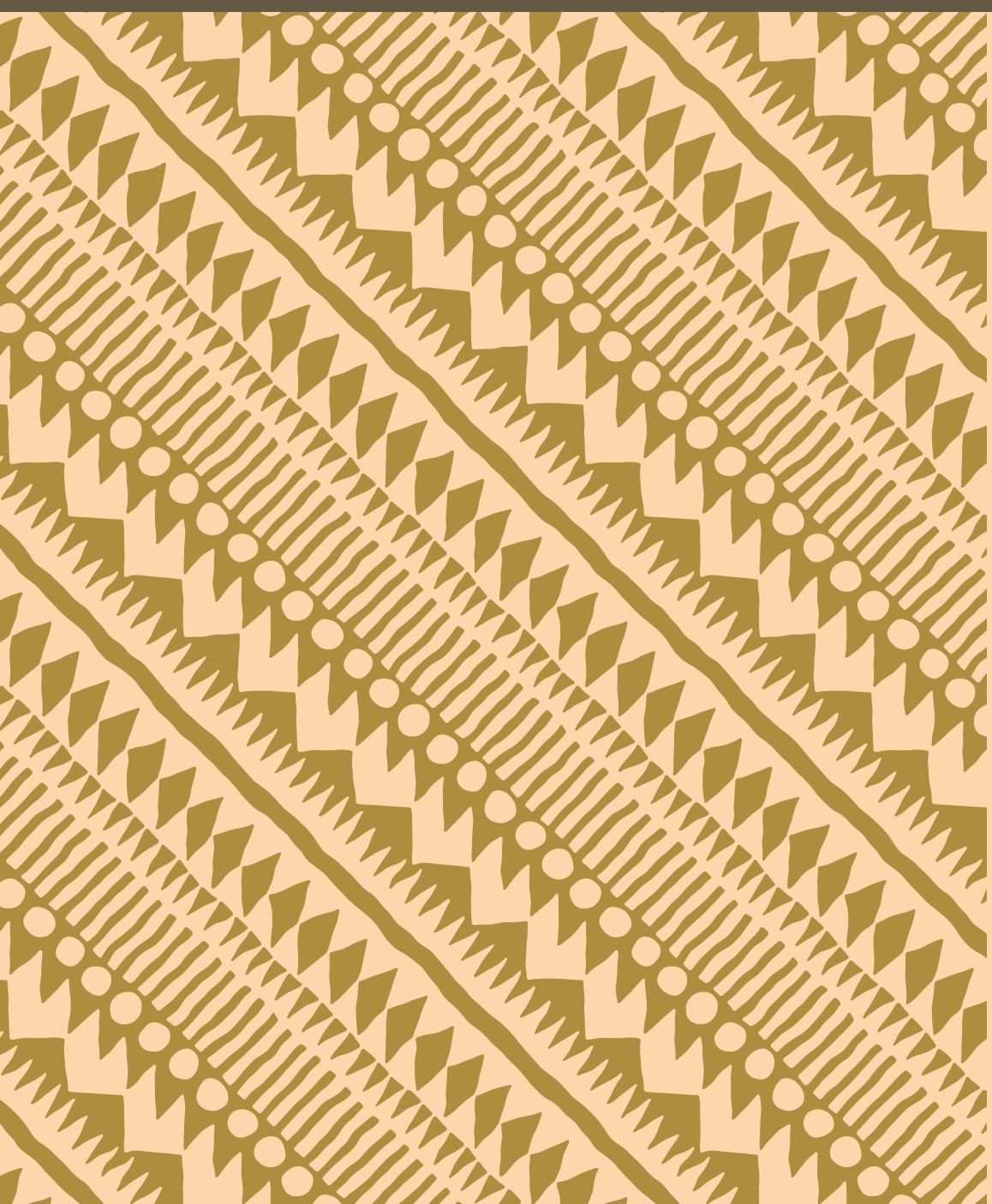
The Origins of Maya Art

Monumental Stone Sculpture of Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala, and the Southern Pacific Coast

Lee Allen Parsons



DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY | 28

STUDIES IN PRE-COLUMBIAN ART & ARCHAEOLOGY NUMBER TWENTY-EIGHT

THE ORIGINS OF MAYA ART:
MONUMENTAL STONE SCULPTURE OF KAMINALJUYU, GUATEMALA, AND THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC COAST

LEE ALLEN PARSONS

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection Washington, D.C. 1986

© 1986
Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University,
Washington, D.C.

All rights reserved.

Library of Congress catalog number 85-31148
ISBN 978-0-88402-148-3

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Parsons, Lee Allen, 1932–
The origins of Maya art.

(Studies in pre-Columbian art & archaeology; no. 28)
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Kaminaljuyu Site (Guatemala)
2. Mayas—Sculpture. 3. Indians of Central America—Guatemala—Sculpture. 4. Mayas—Antiquities.
5. Indians of Central America—Guatemala—Antiquities.
6. Guatemala—Antiquities. I. Title. II. Series.
E51.S85 no. 28 970 s [730'.97281'1] 85-31148
[F1435.1.K3]
ISBN 0-88402-148-3

To the memory of

Tatiana Proskouriakoff

January 23, 1909–August 30, 1985

The monumental arts, hand in hand with spectacular ritual, provided validation for hierarchal society and maintained communication between administration and the populace. The invention of visual forms capable of denoting complex non-material entities and relations was no mean accomplishment for the fine arts. (Proskouriakoff 1971: 147)

Contents

List of Tables vi

List of Maps vi

List of Figures vii

Preface 1

Introduction 5

Part One: Sculptural Analysis 12

- Style Division II: Late Olmec (900–700 B.C.) 12
- Style Division III: Late Olmec–Post-Olmec Transition (700–500 B.C.) 14
  - Low-Relief Sculpture 15
  - Full-Round Sculpture 18
  - Bench Figures and Pedestal Sculptures 22
  - Miscellaneous Sculpture 24
  - Stylistic Summary 26
- Style Division III: Post-Olmec (500–200 B.C.) 27
  - Danzante Substyle 28
  - Olmecoid Low Relief 29
  - Olmecoid Full Round 32
  - Monte Alto Substyle (Full-round Potbelly Sculptures) 39
  - Monte Alto Substyle (Full-figure Boulders and Colossal Heads) 44
- Style Division IV: Izapan (200 B.C.–A.D. 200) 45
  - Miraflores-Arenal Full-round Sculpture 50
  - Early Arenal Low-relief Sculpture (200–1 B.C.) 53
  - Late Arenal Low-relief Sculpture (A.D. 1–200) 60
  - Early Miraflores Low-relief Sculpture (200–1 B.C.) 63
  - Late Miraflores Low-relief Sculpture (A.D. 1–200) 71
  - Comparative Material, Terminal Preclassic (200 B.C.–A.D. 200) 73
- Early Classic (Transition): A.D. 200–400 79
- Style Division V: Early Mexican (A.D. 400–800) 81

Part Two: Synthesis of Art Style Development in Southeastern Mesoamerica 88

- Style Division I (Early Olmec) 88
- Style Division II (Late Olmec) 89
- Style Division III (Post-Olmec) 91
- Style Division IV (Izapan) 94
- Style Division V (Early Mexican) 97
- Style Division VI (Late Mexican) 102
- Profile of the Kaminaljuyu Sequence 102
- Brief Summary and Conclusion 106

Bibliography 109

Tables 117

Maps 135

Figures 147

List of Tables

Table 1 Sculptural Divisions and Chronology; Southern Pacific Coast and Highlands 117
Table 2 Profile of Cultural Development at Kaminaljuyu 118
Table 3 Chronological Synopsis of Sculptural Style Features, Specific Kaminaljuyu Monuments, and Selected Outside Monuments 120
Table 4 Consecutive Annotated List, by Category, all Monumental Stone Sculptures from Kaminaljuyu 122
Table 5 Errata List for Suzanne W. Miles's Article (1965) in *Handbook of Middle American Indians* 133
Table 6 Distribution of Monte Alto Style Potbelly Sculptures 134

List of Maps

Map 1 Early and Late Olmec Sites with Monumental Sculpture (Sculpture Divisions I and II; 1200–700 B.C.) 136
Map 2 Transition and Post-Olmec Sites with Monumental Sculpture (Sculpture Division III; 700–200 B.C.) 138
Map 3 Izapan and Miraflores-Arenal Sites with Monumental Sculpture (Sculpture Division IV; 200 B.C.–A.D. 200) 140
Map 4 Sketch Map of Kaminaljuyu (Locating Its Major Mounds, Monuments, and Ball Courts) 142
Map 5 Detail of Shrine-Atrium Compound; Lower Plaza, Palangana, Kaminaljuyu (Locating Excavated Monumental Stones) 144
Map 6 Sketch Map of Monte Alto, Escuintla (Locating Its Mounds and Monuments) 145

List of Figures

Abbreviations: Mon. = Monument
KJ = Kaminaljuyu
Note: Sequence of figures is roughly chronological (Style Divisions I–V). See Table 4 for annotated list of all Kaminaljuyu sculptures.

1. Stelae 1 and 26, La Venta
2. Mon. 1, Abaj Takalik
3. "Shook Panel," San Antonio, Suchitepequez
4. Petroglyphs, Las Victorias, El Salvador
5. Stela 9, KJ
6. "Jade" cache found with Stela 9, KJ
7. Two Danzantes, Monte Alban, Oaxaca
8. Columnar stela, Alvarado, Veracruz
9. Stela 3, KJ
10. Mon. 6, Abaj Takalik
11. Mon. 6, Abaj Takalik (drawing)
12. Boulder relief, Tiltepec, Chiapas
13. Mon. 2, Izapa
14. Mon. 2, Los Cerritos-South, Escuintla
15. Mon. 1, Sin Cabezas, Escuintla
16. Mon. 2, Sin Cabezas, Escuintla
17. Mon. 3, Sin Cabezas, Escuintla
18. Pair of "sin cabezas" sculptures, Suchitepequez
19. Seated figure on round base, provenience unknown
20. Mon. 3, Los Cerritos-South, Escuintla
21. Human figure on round base, Palo Gordo, Suchitepequez
22. Rampant jaguar, Izapa or Tuxtla Chico, Chiapas
23. Mon. 59, KJ
24. Mon. 50, KJ
25. Mon. F, Tres Zapotes
26. Mon. 62, KJ
27. Mon. 62, KJ (drawing)
28. Seated figure, Chalcatzingo, Morelos
29. Seated jaguar, Patzun, Chimaltenango
30. Mon. 86, Bilbao, Escuintla
31. Bench figure, Villa Flores, Chiapas
32. Bench figure, Villa Nueva, Guatemala
33. Bench figure, provenience unknown
34. Bench figure, El Salvador
35. Pedestal sculpture 4, KJ
36. Pedestal sculpture, Antigua, Guatemala
37. Pedestal sculpture, Tecpan or Patzun, Chimaltenango
38. Pedestal sculptures 3 and 7, KJ
39. Pedestal sculpture 6, KJ
40. Pedestal sculpture, El Porton, Baja Verapaz
41. Pedestal sculptures, Tecpan, Chimaltenango
42. Mushroom stone, provenience unknown
43. Mushroom stone, KJ
44. Mushroom stone, Patzun, Chimaltenango
45. Carved stone ball, Santa Clara, Santa Rosa
46. Stone mask, Monte Alto, Escuintla
47. Stone mask, Escuintla
48. Mon. 45, KJ
49. Mon. 47, KJ
50. Stela 17, KJ
51. Stela 17, KJ (drawing)
52. Mon. 2, KJ
53. Stela 5, KJ
54. Stela 16, KJ
55. Stela 19, KJ
56. Stela 4, KJ
57. Mon. 1, KJ
58. Silhouetted relief, Escuintla
59. Seated figure, Solano, Guatemala
60. Mon. 60, KJ
61. Mons. 42 and 43, KJ, in situ
62. Mon. 42, KJ
63. Mon. 42, KJ (drawing)

64. Mon. 43, KJ
65. Mon. 43, KJ (drawing)
66. Mon. 44, KJ
67. Altar 12, KJ
68. Mon. 5, KJ
69. Mon. 15, KJ
70. Mon. 11, KJ
71. Mon. 9, KJ
72. Mon. 3, Monte Alto, Escuintla
73. Mon. 2, Cerro de las Mesas
74. *Piedra santa,* Palo Gordo, Suchitepequez (drawing)
75. *Piedra santa,* Palo Gordo, Suchitepequez
76. Anthropomorphic sculpture, La Flora, Escuintla
77. Feline monster, La Flora, Escuintla
78. Mon. 5, Santa Clara, Santa Rosa
79. Rampant jaguar, Finca Hamburgo, Suchitepequez
80. Altar 1, Izapa
81. Altar 2, Izapa
82. Altar 2, Abaj Takalik
83. Boulder sculpture, Sabana Grande, Escuintla
84. Two zoomorphs, Gulf Coast, Veracruz
85. Sculpture from Tututepec, Oaxaca
86. Crouching jaguar from Ometepec, Guerrero
87. Crouching jaguar, Copan, Honduras
88. Crouching jaguar, Copan, Honduras
89. Potbelly sculpture, Copan, Honduras
90. Potbelly sculpture, Tikal
91. Hollow figurine, KJ
92. Three potbelly sculptures, Finca Solola, Escuintla
93. Mon. 4, KJ
94. Mon. 3, KJ
95. Mon. 8, KJ
96. Mon. 6, KJ
97. Mon. 40, KJ
98. Mon. 7, KJ
99. Mon. 41, KJ
100. Mon. 39, KJ
101. Mon. 38, KJ
102. Mons. 57 and 58, KJ
103. Potbelly sculpture, San Juan Sacatepequez
104. Potbelly sculpture, Santa Cruz Quiche
105. Potbelly sculpture, Tonala-Tapanatepec, Chiapas
106. Mon. 2, Abaj Takalik
107. Mon. 58, Bilbao, Escuintla
108. Mon. 47, Bilbao, Escuintla
109. Potbelly sculpture, La Concepcion, Escuintla
110. Potbelly sculpture, Obero, Escuintla
111. Mon. 1, La Nueva, Jutiapa
112. Potbelly sculpture, El Baul, Escuintla
113. Mons. 1, 2, and 3, Santa Leticia, El Salvador
114. Mon. 6, Monte Alto, Escuintla
115. Mon. 11, Monte Alto, Escuintla
116. Mon. 9, Monte Alto, Escuintla
117. Mon. 4, Monte Alto, Escuintla
118. Mon. 5, Monte Alto, Escuintla
119. Mon. 1, Monte Alto, Escuintla
120. Mon. 2, Monte Alto, Escuintla
121. Mon. 7, Monte Alto, Escuintla
122. Mon. 8, Monte Alto, Escuintla
123. Mon. 10, Monte Alto, Escuintla
124. Mon. 49, KJ
125. Mon. 16, KJ
126. Mon. 18, KJ
127. Mon. 17, KJ
128. Mon. 17, KJ (profile)
129. Altar 5, KJ
130. Altar 3, KJ
131. Altar 6, KJ
132. Altar 7, KJ
133. Mon. 51, KJ
134. Mon. 52, KJ
135. Mon. 53, KJ
136. Mon. 54, KJ
137. Mon. 55, KJ
138. Mon. 14, El Baul, Escuintla
139. Altars 9 and 10, KJ
140. Altar 9, KJ (drawing)
141. Altar 10, KJ (drawing)
142. Altar 8, KJ
143. Stela 20, KJ
144. Stela 1, KJ

145. Stela 1, KJ (drawing)
146. Mon. 63, KJ
147. Stela 25, KJ
148. Stela 25, KJ (drawing)
149. Mon. 65, KJ
150. Stela 22, KJ
151. Silhouetted relief, provenience unknown
152. Altar 14, KJ
153. Altar 1, KJ
154. Silhouetted relief 4, KJ
155. Silhouetted relief, provenience unknown
156. Silhouetted relief, Sacatepequez
157. Stela 21, KJ
158. Stela 15, KJ
159. Stela 6, KJ
160. Stela 18, KJ
161. Altar 2, KJ
162. Stela 1, El Baul, Escuintla
163. Stela 1, Abaj Takalik
164. Silhouetted relief 2, KJ
165. Silhouetted relief, Santa Cruz Quiche
166. Silhouetted relief 11, KJ
167. Silhouetted relief 3, KJ
168. Silhouetted relief 7, KJ
169. Stela 11, KJ
170. Stela 3, Abaj Takalik
171. Stela 26, KJ
172. Stela 12, KJ
173. Stela 28, KJ
174. Mon. 56, KJ
175. Stela 10, KJ
176. Fragment from Chocola, Suchitepequez
177. Stela 8, KJ
178. Silhouetted relief 1, KJ
179. Silhouetted relief 10, KJ
180. Silhouetted reliefs 12 and 13, KJ
181. Silhouetted relief 8, KJ
182. Stela 2, KJ
183. Mon. 42, Bilbao, Escuintla
184. Sculpture from Veracruz
185. Stela from Tepatlaxco, Veracruz
186. Stela 2, El Mirador, Peten
187. Adobe architectural relief, KJ
188. Stela 13, KJ
189. Panel, Tuzapan, Veracruz
190. Stela 23, KJ
191. Mon. 10, KJ
192. Mon. 12, KJ
193. Mon. 61, KJ
194. Mon. 61, KJ (drawing)
195. Mon. 7, Abaj Takalik
196. South coast head sculpture
197. Mon. 1, Santa Clara, Santa Rosa
198. Mon. 2, Santa Clara, Santa Rosa
199. Mon. 4, Santa Clara, Santa Rosa
200. Mon. 31, KJ
201. Mon. 32, KJ
202. Mon. 34, KJ
203. Mon. 29, KJ
204. Mon. 26, KJ
205. Mon. 28, KJ
206. Mon. 14, KJ
207. Mon. 23, KJ
208. Mon. 25, KJ
209. Mon. 33, KJ

Preface

THE INTENT OF THIS STUDY is to document all the known "monumental" stone sculptures from Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala, and to place them in their probable chronological and stylistic contexts. This requires an examination of all relevant archaeological data from the principal site as well as a great many related sculptures, especially from the Southern Pacific Coast and to some extent the Gulf Coast and beyond. In addition to a corpus of some 125 monumental sculptures reported from the site of Kaminaljuyu, I will refer to as many more from contiguous regions in order to illustrate and attempt to synthesize almost twenty centuries of cultural development from the Middle Preclassic to the Late Classic periods in the greater Southern Maya area located in southeastern Mesoamerica. Much of this stone sculpture has either never been published or has been illustrated only inadequately in quite scattered literature, from exhibition catalogues to relatively obscure journals. Stylistic analysis of this corpus permits us to perceive and outline the very origins of Classic Maya art.

Particularly neglected in general historical syntheses of Mesoamerica has been the specific area of the Chiapas-Guatemala highlands and the adjacent Pacific Coast that stretches from Chiapas, Mexico, to El Salvador. However, it is there that we find the origin of "Post-Olmec" and "proto-Maya" art styles, in addition to the earliest Maya hieroglyphs and calendrical inscriptions. While it will not be necessary to treat in detail the earlier Gulf Coast Olmec phenomenon, the terminal Olmec situation and the early Maya emergence are of special concern. Moreover, in dealing with the complete history of ancient Kaminaljuyu the Teotihuacanoid and Cotzumalhuapan manifestations, which dominated this area in the Middle Classic and Late Classic periods, must also be examined. This work is thus intended to fill a long-recognized need for a thorough, up-to-date study of Kaminaljuyu sculpture, including a catalogue of photographs and drawings and systematic analyses of this diverse and important cultural material. The inventory is complete as of my most recent visit to Guatemala in 1984.

My direct involvement with the archaeology of the area began in December 1961, when I drove with Stephan Borhegyi and Robert Ritzenthaler in a Ford pickup truck from the Milwaukee Public Museum to Bilbao, Escuintla, on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala. The two "divergent" investigative strategies that converge in the present volume had their origins at that time: one, an intensive, specialized study of a circumscribed set of archaeological and stylistic problems, and two, the accumulation of a wide collection of studies and photographs of seemingly unrelated Pre-Columbian stone sculpture. The early research, undertaken with the aid of a two-year National Science Foundation grant, was the investigation of the Cotzumalhuapan culture and art style, and was initially expanded into a broad generalized overview of Mesoamerica in my doctoral dissertation at Harvard University (n.d.); it was later published in two parts with all the archaeological detail (Parsons 1967b, 1969).

The last season of digging at Bilbao in 1963 proved especially critical, both intellectually and emotionally, in setting the course of the field and museum research that is synthesized in this work. First, there was the personal excitement of finding, buried face down in a sculpture dump under a stone staircase at Bilbao, the Early Maya Monument 42 (Parsons 1967a). Even the first "feel" of the still-concealed relief carving indicated an art style more Mayoid than Cotzumalhuapan. This unexpected discovery on the Pacific Coast sealed my future interest in Preclassic and proto-Maya stone sculpture. At least as important to my

development as a scholar was the presence in Guatemala of Suzanne Miles (also from the Midwest, we both had attended Beloit College before going on to Harvard), who guided me through the stylistic mysteries of a welter of what then seemed obscure, but undeniably early, Kaminaljuyu stone sculptures in the galleries and storerooms of the Guatemalan National Museum. Her enthusiasm was infectious, and the quality of her insights were comparable to those—in another time and place—of Miguel Covarrubias. I took notes on her facts and observations, sketched and photographed everything in sight, and started assembling my own comparative observations. Perhaps from a stubborn "show me" attitude, I had to figure it all out for myself. It has taken a score of years to do so. If there have been long interruptions of the research, this study nonetheless profited from the many discoveries made during this period and, immeasurably, from the posthumous (1965) appearance of Suzanne's landmark stone sculpture article in the *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. (See Table 5 for a greatly needed errata list for that frequently cited article.)

In late 1968 I began a three-year excavation project at Monte Alto, on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala, with grants from the National Geographic Society and the sponsorship of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. Veteran archaeologist Edwin M. Shook was selected as field director. The principal problem at Monte Alto was the clarification of the position within the Mesoamerican Preclassic of its colossal stone heads and effigy boulder sculptures (see the preliminary article, Parsons and Jenson 1965). While these excavations were in some sense unspectacular, and are unfortunately as yet not completely published, I believe the primary problem of the Monte Alto sculptural style has been resolved and is summarized in this monograph. In the course of general coastal reconnaissance during that project, I reported the "Izapan" Stela 4 at Abaj Takalik (Parsons 1973). (See Shook 1971, and Parsons 1976 for brief published reviews of the Monte Alto project.) As of this writing, Ed Shook and Marion P. Hatch have the final ceramic and excavation report well along in preparation. Herein I also offer for the first time a sketch map of the Monte Alto site with the locations of its eleven boulder sculptures (Map 6).

In 1977, while at the St. Louis Art Museum, I had the privilege of preparing a paper for the Matthew Stirling festschrift on the "Post-Olmec" aspect of my sculpture studies (Parsons 1981).[1] The purpose was to establish a discrete Post-Olmec art style phase, though its parameters and content are not complete as presented therein. It has been entirely rewritten for this monograph, with some important revisions. After final resorting of all available material, I now have placed a few more sculptures in the Post-Olmec division, and also have found good reason to define an even earlier "Transition" phase for some of the southern sculpture that appears to overlap the La Venta IV phase on the Gulf Coast. (I also prepared [Parsons 1983] a separate paper on the extremely important Terminal Preclassic iconography of Altars 9 and 10 at Kaminaljuyu.)

Yet another dichotomy in the development of my scholarship may be evident in this study: from my initial training as an anthropological archaeologist through my subsequent career in museum work, my interests have increasingly turned to art historical interpretation. Happily, during the past two decades, more art historians have addressed the Pre-Columbian field and have begun to provide a distinct perspective on these ancient civilizations not offered by traditional American archaeology. Such a perspective is especially urgent in view of the fact that much of the data treated here lacks any known archaeological context, including the stratigraphic; in all too many cases, even the provenience of major pieces is not known. Thus other research strategies and methods must be employed to interpret and assess the historical and cultural significance of this material.

[1] Let me take this opportunity to point out a typographical error in the fig. 7 caption for that essay (Parsons 1981): Pedestal Sculpture 6, Kaminaljuyu, was found immediately north of the C-II-4 Acropolis, not at "C-III-4."

Much of this information, moreover, has until now been relatively inaccessible to scholars (and some of it difficult, if not impossible, to retrieve by others) because it has remained unpublished in minds, notes, and files (mine and those of others—some of them now deceased) or published only obscurely and in scattered form; the extant literature is replete with gaps, confusion, and outright misinformation. Thus there is a mandate for the present synthesis of information and interpretation of data to be made available for an increasing number of scholars to examine and utilize.[2]

My first acknowledgment is to the National Endowment for the Humanities which funded the six-month "sabbatical" of independent study and research in 1981 that I used to begin writing this monograph. I am also grateful to George Kubler, Michael Coe, and William Sanders for their intellectual support and encouragement. Going back in time, I wish to emphasize my gratitude to the late Stephan F. de Borhegyi and Suzanne W. Miles for directing my attention to the issues of this study and for inspiring my future research. The Guatemalan National Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, with its changes in administration, has always been kindly and cooperative. I am in debt to Edwin Shook and Joya Hairs in Guatemala for both photographs and previously unpublished information. Richard M. Rose was particularly helpful in stone sculpture reconnaissance and in making fine photographic records during the National Geographic Society Monte Alto project. I am grateful to William Sanders and some of his students for supplying me with excavation data on sculptures they turned up during their extensive Pennsylvania State University Kaminaljuyu project a decade ago. Richard Kirsch especially aided in compiling the first preliminary list of Kaminaljuyu monuments in 1972, forcing me to go back through my files to get them in order and to complete the inventory. I am particularly grateful to Barbara Price for offering extensive editorial advice and some pertinent academic suggestions on the first draft of the manuscript. In addition, Janet Berlo provided very helpful comments. Michael Coe and Arthur Demarest gave sound advice on matters of organization for the final revised draft.

I am also pleased to have this opportunity to thank the many Guatemalan friends (landowners, collectors, and workmen) without whose assistance such studies could never be accomplished by a foreigner. If I were to compile a complete roster of acknowledgments, it would result in a paragraph of illustrious names reflecting a lifetime of productive associations and influences, both academic and personal. Foremost is Tatiana Proskouriakoff, to whom I proudly dedicate this study. I trust they will each privately share in my sense of various and profound debts to them.

Although proper credits are given in the captions to each of the illustrations, the many contributors deserve special acknowledgment here. First, I wish to thank my good friend Ryntha Johnson of the Denver Art Museum for her selfless diligence in preparing most of the final drawings that appear in this work. I am also grateful to the late Guatemalan illustrators Guillermo Grajeda Mena and Antonio Tejeda Fonseca for their contributions. Some of Ryntha Johnson's drawings were rendered from photographs, and the remainder are finished inked drawings from my own preliminary pencil versions. A few unstippled line drawings are included for explicit details of iconography; these, however, are accompanied by photographs for reference to the qualities of actual relief which are so important for stylistic assessments. All were proofed under my supervision. The tables and maps were prepared by me. Fifty-three of the photographs are mine, most of them taken while employed by the Milwaukee Public Museum, where the negatives

[2] I should note that a very capable University of California graduate student, Ariadne Prater, is working independently on virtually the same corpus of sculptural material for her doctoral dissertation at Berkeley, but as yet her interpretations are not available to me. While I expect them to be stylistically perceptive, her necessary dependence on the inadequate files of the Guatemalan National Museum will deter her from a complete analysis. (A secondary purpose of my present study is to transmit to that museum documented information on their Kaminaljuyu sculpture collection.)

are deposited. Twenty-one are by the professional photographer Joya Hairs of Guatemala City. The negatives for the thirty-two photos by Richard M. Rose are now on file at Edwin Shook's laboratory in Antigua, Guatemala (also the present depository for all the Monte Alto project notes and photographs, though originally these were under the care of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University). Eleven of the photos presented here are by Shook, mostly from the old Carnegie Institution of Washington files at the Peabody Museum. Others who have generously supplied their photographs are Stanley Boggs, Frederick Bove, Barbara Braun, Michael Coe, Nicholas Hellmuth, Alain Ichon, Peter Jenson, Francis E. Ross (Detroit), Harold G. Russell (St. Louis), and Louisa Stark with Jane Rosenthal. A few photographs are originals from such deceased pioneers in the field as Robert Burkitt, Samuel Lothrop, Teobert Maler, and Francis B. Richardson. Difficult field circumstances have caused some unevenness of quality, but it should be noted that is has required twenty years to assemble the illustrations that are finally published together here.

I am especially indebted to the Milwaukee Public Museum and the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, for providing the majority of photographic prints used in this publication. In addition, I thank the American Museum of Natural History; the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation; the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the San Diego Museum of Man; the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia; and the Pennsylvania State University. Foreign museum contributors include the Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala; the Pigorini Museum, Rome; the Musée de l'Homme, Paris; and the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Introduction

AT ITS PEAKS, during both the Terminal Preclassic and the Middle Classic periods, Kaminaljuyu was doubtless the most important site in the Guatemalan highlands. Located in a large, but relatively low, central highland basin (on the western outskirts of modern Guatemala City), it was strategically placed, straddling the Continental Divide along a natural pass that gives easy access to the Pacific Coast from Lake Amatitlan to the Department of Escuintla on the south. On the northeast equally convenient access leads to the Atlantic through the Motagua River Valley and to the Maya lowlands. Throughout its history, therefore, Kaminaljuyu was capable of controlling, or at least profiting from, a major trade route linking the Southern Pacific Coast to the Maya lowlands. In addition to high-value agricultural products such as cacao, produced and probably transmitted along this route, Kaminaljuyu had close access to the largest southeastern Mesoamerican sources of two coveted commodities—volcanic obsidian at El Chayal and raw jadeite at Manzanal—both located in the upper reaches of the Motagua Valley (Parsons and Price 1971).

From the fifth century B.C. to the eighth century A.D., Kaminaljuyu grew to a 200-mound site, covering some seven square kilometers on the shores of a now extinct shallow lake (see Map 4). In the Late Preclassic period (500 B.C.–A.D. 200) it became the center of an innovative stone-sculpture tradition leading from Post-Olmec to Early Maya, the major focus of the present study. Indeed, until Central Mexican Teotihuacan intrusion about A.D. 400, this region was, in all probability, thoroughly Maya in general cultural identification. (The term "non-Maya," used in Francis Richardson's important early article [1940] on southern Preclassic stone sculpture, can now be more confidently redefined.)

Prior to construction of the first substantial permanent settlement at Kaminaljuyu, at the outset of the late Preclassic, the Pacific Coastal region dominated cultural development in this part of Mesoamerica: it was the first to give rise to ceremonial centers, to receive Late Olmec impulses, and even to execute monumental stone sculpture. During the Terminal Preclassic (200 B.C.–A.D. 200) Kaminaljuyu seems to have competed with other important Pacific Coastal sites such as Izapa and Abaj Takalik, all of which were thriving simultaneously. However, despite the argument that the proto-Maya calendar was invented or perfected on the coast, I propose that it was at Kaminaljuyu that the most significant proto-Maya art styles originated.

During the Middle Classic (A.D. 400–700) Kaminaljuyu came under Mexican Teotihuacan domination, and new, truly non-Maya art styles emerged. The second focus of attention in this study is on that "Early Mexican" era because of its importance to the history of Kaminaljuyu as well as to its neighbors. By the time of the Late Classic in the eighth century, Kaminaljuyu itself had waned in regional political influence and was virtually abandoned, while the regionally specialized coastal Cotzumalhuapa culture and art style overshadowed everything else in this area (Parsons 1969). Simultaneously, the Late Classic became the great period of Classic Maya art and civilization in the Central Lowlands. Because Kaminaljuyu was unoccupied in the Postclassic, that period and the accompanying art style will not be scrutinized here.

In order to analyze the history of Kaminaljuyu and its sculptural styles, it is also necessary to examine parallel developments on the Southern Pacific Coast and on the Gulf Coast (always closely linked to the Pacific side), as well as the Preclassic period in the Maya lowlands. Detailed description and analysis of the stone sculpture

itself follow in Part One, while a stylistic synthesis of all the material is presented in Part Two. By way of introduction, I want to summarize the history of relevant research, touch on some of the problems of art historical analysis, and delimit the specific approaches to this study of Kaminaljuyu stone sculpture.[3]

The singular importance of Kaminaljuyu in ancient Mesoamerica was brought to widespread scholarly attention when two masterful monographs by Carnegie Institution of Washington archaeologists appeared. The first (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946) reported the excavation of Middle Classic Mounds A and B at Kaminaljuyu, in which elite tombs and exotic architecture revealed the dramatic richness and intensity of Teotihuacan presence in Guatemala. The second (Shook and Kidder 1952) focused on the equally unexpected and spectacular Terminal Preclassic tombs in Mound E-III-3. Thus these two operations effectively highlighted the two major florescences in Kaminaljuyu's history.

However, it was the inimitable Alfred P. Maudslay who first recorded the site of Kaminaljuyu, and a few of its stone sculptures, in the scientific literature just before the turn of this century (Maudslay 1889–1902). In the 1920s Manuèl Gamio, Samuel Lothrop, and C. J. Antonio and Carlos A. Villacorta did significant early archaeological reports on the site. From the beginning of the 1930s, when the Carnegie Institution commenced a variety of salvage and reconnaissance operations that were to last for two decades, the essential framework of the history of Kaminaljuyu was pieced together. (See Kirsch 1973, for a complete annotated bibliography of work at Kaminaljuyu.) Most recently, William Sanders headed a comprehensive three-year (1968–70) archaeological survey of the site and its environs for the Pennsylvania State University, resulting in an impressive series of six volumes giving us a definitive outline of Kaminaljuyu and the Valley of Guatemala (Sanders and Michels 1969, 1977; Michels and Sanders 1973; Wetherington 1978; Michels 1979a, 1979b). See Table 1 for the current archaeological phasing at Kaminaljuyu, which I use in this study and which is at slight variance with earlier Carnegie usage (see also ftn. 12, p. 102). The most important publications specifically dealing with Kaminaljuyu stone sculpture have been by Samuel K. Lothrop (1926), the brothers Villacorta (1927), and Suzanne W. Miles (1965).

The present study expands and updates the Miles synthesis as well as complements the six published volumes from Sanders's project. Sanders has deliberately focused on all the traditional anthropological and archaeological problems outside the sphere of art and sculpture, although he has described the architecture. To me, among the impressive features of the great site of Kaminaljuyu is not only the quantity of monumental stone sculpture but the stylistic diversity and the qualities of innovation expressed in Preclassic times. The extant works of art may offer special insights into the ethos, religion, and intellectual life of the ancient civilizations that produced them, and a perspective on the interrelations of cultures not readily offered by settlement, demographic, or political-economic studies—which are themselves directed to a quite distinct set of analytical problems. Because the two types of investigation address different questions and thus require different methodologies, their somewhat different types of conclusions are not to be regarded in any sense as "competitive" (Barbara Price, personal communication, 1983).

One of the bothersome factors in the study of Pre-Columbian stone sculpture is the mobility and mutability of the objects. They usually manage to endure, but in a new location, or in a broken, mutilated, reused, or even recarved form. All of

[3] As many reviews of the subject already exist, this introduction is brief and does not document all of the earlier "breakthroughs" nor the vicissitudes of research. Only the scientific literature most pertinent to the study is cited here. More extensive relevant citations appear throughout the body of the text. Since I assume a familiarity with the basic literature, the general reader is referred to the *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Wauchope 1964–76) for a number of useful, synoptic articles. In addition, see Weaver (1981) for an excellent, more up-to-date textbook.

these factors are applicable at Kaminaljuyu. To quote Miles (1965: 237): "Although probably religious, little respect was shown monuments, particularly at Kaminaljuyu. They were smashed and scattered, reused as foundation or paving or thrown into dumps. Only rarely were stelae or fragments carefully buried." Therefore, rarely do we have monumental sculpture found in its original context (i.e., in situ from the time of its creation or original use). Correlatively, direct structural or ceramic associations seldom exist or, if they do, may only provide a terminal date for the last reuse or deposit of a sculpture. Yet it is the time of carving, and the culture mirrored by it, that most interests us for historical reconstructions. At best, the "find spot" of a sculpture often represents the archaeological phase immediately subsequent to its origin and original function. At worst, its ultimate archaeological context may be well over a thousand years later. Alfonso Medellin's (1960b) well-known dilemma in excavating Gulf Coast Olmec sculpture with apparent Late Classic ceramic associations is a case in point. This situation also obtained with some of the "sin cabezas" and "potbelly" sculptures on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala, and even some of the Preclassic Kaminaljuyu sculptures first reported from the surface of its "Palangana" zone (to be documented later in the text).

Pre-Columbian peoples were often their own antiquarians, resurrecting and revering monuments that were, even to them, ancient. (The same phenomenon continues to this day among Highland Guatemala Indians [Ritzenthaler 1967].) In periods of schism or foreign intrusion, old monuments were decapitated (especially the "potbellies" and the aptly called "sin cabezas"), defaced, or simply smashed and thrown into dumps. In peaceful eras of continuous growth of a single culture, old monuments were shifted into new positions, raised on new platforms, or buried in the fill of later constructions. Further, we detect occasionally a kind of revivalism or archaizing when a later culture imitates the canons of respected earlier styles, much as some Ming dynasty bronzes copy much earlier Shang dynasty bronzes in China. Fortunately, such a situation usually can be recognized in the archaeological record. (See Proskouriakoff 1968, and her discussion of archaistic Late Classic sculptures from Tonina, Chiapas. See also Parsons 1975, for absurd extremes of possible obfuscation.) Much more could be said about these topics, but they are raised here only to convey a word of caution.

Lamentably, at Kaminaljuyu relatively few sculptures were found in an in situ prehistoric context, or were even professionally excavated, whatever their context. However, those important ones that have been well recorded provide some of the main guidelines for dating classes of sculpture. In Maudslay's and Lothrop's day, many were scattered around the Fincas Arevalo and Miraflores, but even then some had been moved to decorate gateposts or the grounds of the haciendas—although these probably had not been moved far. The only surface finds probably in situ from Pre-Columbian times were those in the Palangana zone. (See Map 4, the sketch map of Kaminaljuyu, for all the known proveniences of stone sculptures in modern times; some of them, of course, are confidently reported from archaeological excavations.)

Since World War II, booming suburban Guatemala City housing developments have destroyed most of the site except for the small, preserved, "government zone" (locally called the "Parque de Kaminaljuyu") around the Acropolis and Palangana complexes. Most of the former mounds have been leveled either by the bulldozer or by their use in brickmaking (hence the urgency of Sanders's project). The great number of sculptures thus accidentally recovered have usually lacked recorded proveniences unless Ed Shook, Sue Miles, or Gustavo Espinosa happened to hear of the finds immediately. Over the years many of these objects have gone to the Guatemalan National Museum, others into private Guatemalan collections, and probably others have simply "disappeared." We are fortunate to have knowledge of as many as we do under these deplorable circumstances.

Often, therefore, analysis must rely heavily on art historical interpretations of the surviving sculptural remains despite the special problems raised by such studies. While I have come to mistrust many "seriations" of individual styles not having firm archaeological grounding to indicate "what is earlier and what is later," general seriation is, by default, a necessary first step in defining major style groups and assessing the directions of their developments. This presentation will rely on as much archaeological and chronological information as can be mustered to support our principal sequence and style divisions. New data will permit future refinements and fill some minor gaps. For Classic Maya sculpture we have the elegant model of stylistic analysis by Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1950), but, of course, with the corroborating evidence of certain associated Maya calendrical dates.

For sculpture of the Preclassic period, however, many significant advances have taken place without benefit of the kinds of controls we have for the Classic. Early Preclassic Olmec sculpture finally has been excellently seriated and stylistically analyzed by Susan Milbrath (1979), and I largely follow her outline of the earliest Olmec stone sculpture development. We disagree only incidentally in some sculptural assignments for the post-San Lorenzo, "Late Olmec," period (her Stylistic Groups III and IV). Further, I am not convinced of the presence of Early Olmec monumental stone sculpture (pre-900 B.C.) in the Southern Pacific Coast region, nor do I agree that our "sin cabezas" class of sculpture there (cf. Figs. 15–18) is as early as the San Lorenzo phase on the Gulf Coast. Also, I disagree with John Graham (1981) that the Monte Alto style of boulder or potbelly sculpture (cf. Figs. 92–118) is "proto" Olmec, or even that any Early Olmec sculpture exists at the important coastal Guatemalan site of Abaj Takalik (where Graham has undertaken extensive excavations and has already extended the list of Preclassic sculptures to over 100). Late Olmec sculptures, however, are found there.

Miles was the first (1965) to offer arguments that a certain class of "crude" sculpture in the south may be earlier than Olmec, partly on the basis of one surface sherd collection at the site of Monte Alto. Before our excavation of Monte Alto, I would have been the first to hope to demonstrate that Miles was once again correct in her prophetic sculptural analysis—there is no logical reason why very early monumental sculpture could not independently have come into being outside of the "Olmec heartland." That provocative, but premature, notion is enthusiastically followed to this day by Rafael Girard and other chauvinistic Guatemalans. However, twenty years later, not one shred of real evidence has surfaced to support such a claim. Instead, there is considerable evidence to dispute it, as I will substantiate.

Certainly there are some prominent Early and Middle Preclassic sites in the south, but the emergence of monumental stone sculpture in Mesoamerica still has to be credited to the Olmecs, as in the final San Lorenzo report (Coe and Diehl 1980). This "admission" does not detract from the influential role of the south coast and the highlands in subsequent Preclassic eras. I began a preliminary examination of a significant Post-Olmec (Olmecoid) sculptural division (Parsons 1981)—an era not sufficiently appreciated for its special contributions (however, see Scott 1976, 1977). In the present study this division is extended back in time from 200 to 700 B.C., immediately following a Late Olmec period (900–700 B.C.) in the Southern Maya area (see Table 1).

The Terminal Preclassic "Izapan horizon" (200 B.C.–A.D. 200) is a florescent period in the south, to be given detailed attention in this work. The sculpture from the type site of Izapa, on the coast of Chiapas, is now well published (Norman 1973, 1976). Therefore, I am not obligated to treat this rather specialized group of sculpture exhaustively, though I do offer a very broad seriation of it. Since a number of authors, from Suzanne Miles (1965) to Jacinto Quirarte (1973, 1974, 1976a, 1976b, 1977, and 1981) and most recently Gareth Lowe, Thomas Lee, and Eduardo Martínez E. (1982), and Virginia Smith (1984), have thoroughly analyzed Izapan art,

there is no need to explain once again, with diagrams, such fundamentals as the variable formats of the ubiquitous profile "dragon" motifs in Preclassic art. I shall concentrate, rather, on the more neglected contemporary developments to the east of Izapa. These Miraflores and Arenal styles, centering at Kaminaljuyu, are more explicitly "proto-Maya," and for this time period I agree with John Graham (1979) that sculptures from Abaj Takalik, Guatemala, to Chalchuapa, El Salvador, prefigure Early Maya more than anything found at Izapa itself (see Map 3).

It should be emphasized that a linear stylistic evolution in southeastern Mesoamerica, from Olmec-to-Izapa-to-Maya, represents a gross oversimplification of stylistic interrelations. The picture is becoming far more complex and analogous to a "latticework" of communication as Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1968) implied and Arthur Demarest (n.d.: 385) is propounding. There are a number of discrete, but overlapping, regional art styles, and there is evidence of considerable "feedback" from one region, and one culture, to another in each time phase after the tenth century B.C. With the possible exception of the earliest Olmec, no single limited region can be credited for every sculptural innovation, though certain compelling trends in cumulative development do emerge. The early (transition) Post-Olmec period now suggests a preeminence of the Southern Maya region and reverse diffusion of inventive new styles influencing the La Venta IV expressions on the Gulf Coast. (For similar arguments, see Milbrath 1979: 42–45, and Demarest 1976.) The several Post-Olmec southern substyles (Danzante, Olmecoid, and Monte Alto) likewise are mutually interrelated, just as the later (Izapan, Arenal, and Miraflores) substyles interchange elements and once again cross over to the Gulf Coast. And by the first century B.C., the Southern Maya area is demonstrably interacting with the Central Maya lowlands. During the Preclassic there are no sharp boundaries between one phase and another; each substyle seems to grade into combination with others (Table 1).

In summary, the present analysis of the Preclassic in southeastern Mesoamerica differs in important detail from some widely accepted historical syntheses and is reinforced by other recent independent research—with one notable exception to be discussed below. Michael Coe (1962) was the first to popularize the sweeping overview that the Izapa style is intermediate and continuous in time, space, and art style between Olmec and Classic Maya (though he lumped the Kaminaljuyu Miraflores style with Izapa). Ignacio Bernal's popular book (1969) follows the same approach, as have general textbooks. Here I view the initial Olmec sculptural phenomenon as primary, independent, and non-Maya. However, the diverse "epi-Olmec" styles, which I define for the south, represent the roots of a new Mayoid tradition, but not without Olmecoid interrelationships with the Gulf Coast. The Post-Olmec sculptural ordering proposed by John Scott (1976, 1977, 1978) also closely parallels mine—a scheme first utilized in the Easby and Scott catalogue (1970). The subsequent "Izapan horizon," in its Kaminaljuyu sphere, then, contributed directly to the origins of Classic Maya art, while the corpus of sculpture at Izapa, also with an Olmecoid background, quickly became too specialized to have a specific influence on the Maya lowlands. More and more scholars are agreeing on the essential uniqueness of sculpture at Izapa itself (Lowe, Lee, and Martínez 1982; Smith 1984). These authors, incidentally, refuse to make a chronological seriation of that group of 200 sculptures which they believe to be of too limited a time span. Lowland Maya investigators, such as David Freidel (1979), now acknowledge derivation from Kaminaljuyu and the south coast of the earliest Maya monumental art and iconography.

The greatest point of current academic disagreement, over the very origins of monumental sculpture in Mesoamerica, is being propounded by John Graham. He believes that a relatively crude class of boulder and potbelly sculpture on the Guatemalan Pacific Coast precedes classical Olmec on the Gulf Coast, and that early Olmec art style development was initiated in the south. In

view of Graham's (1979, 1981) present seriation of earlier Preclassic sculptures at Abaj Takalik, it is necessary to justify my much later Post-Olmec placement of that group.

First of all, and as I demonstrate in the text, I do not believe that Graham's niche figure, Monument 23 at Abaj Takalik, was recarved from an "Olmec colossal human head," as he asserts (Graham 1981). Further, it does not seem justifiable to reverse yet again, more or less arbitrarily, the seriation of Gulf Coast Olmec sculpture. Coe amply demonstrated that the more naturalistic colossal heads and seated figures precede 900 B.C. at San Lorenzo, thus fixing the *sequence* of Olmec sculptural development—with the more blocky and stylized examples, such as at La Venta, coming later. Further, firm Late Preclassic archaeological dates exist for the Santa Leticia variant of Monte Alto style effigy boulders (Demarest, Switsur, and Burger 1982). Lacking corroborative evidence, as we did twenty years ago, it was at that time reasonable to propose a sculptural sequence from "crude and stylized" to "sophisticated and naturalistic." However, I have not seen any stratigraphic evidence remotely associated with stone sculpture that supports this hypothesis today. Furthermore, I understand that most of the monuments at Abaj Takalik were reset in the Late Classic, thus precluding direct stratigraphic evidence.

The best general evidence for Post-Olmec dating of Monte Alto style potbelly sculptures, however, is that the largest single cluster comes from Kaminaljuyu, a site that did not become an established center until 500 B.C. Since the earliest sculpture at Kaminaljuyu (Stela 9, directly associated with columnar basalts and the bases of pedestal sculptures) was "reused" in a Providencia phase deposit, it can be postulated that a few Kaminaljuyu sculptures can be placed in the 700–500 B.C. Transition (Las Charcas phase), but certainly not earlier. Therefore the potbelly group at that site cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be earlier than the end of the Middle Preclassic, unless—as makes no sense at all—these examples are considered to have been transported from some Early Preclassic site on the coast. Even more compelling for our Post-Olmec assessment of the style is the presence of fairly large potbelly sculptures at Tikal and in sub-stela caches at Copan. The *oldest* Eb phase at Tikal is only sixth century B.C. (W. R. Coe 1965a). How could this style have reached Copan and Tikal before these sites were intensively occupied? It is far more reasonable to surmise that their appearance in the Maya lowlands is roughly *contemporary* with their popularity in the southern area. While representing the earliest stone sculpture in the Peten, they certainly are not as early as *pre*-Olmec, or even Olmec.

It is well to point out a few guidelines for the analysis of stone sculptural styles. First of all, low-relief sculpture has inherent characteristics that set it apart from high-relief or in-the-round sculpture. Details of carving techniques, proportions and postures of figures, relations of images to backgrounds (space), relative roundness or flatness of modeling, as well as assemblages of motifs and relationships of one to another (composition), are all critical factors of style. However, individual motifs and thematic subject matter are liable to carry over long periods of time and to be unreliable as specific criteria. We must always keep in mind the interplay of form, content, and style (the last being the unique end result of the artist's expression and manipulation of his media and his ideology). Once an art style is recognized and defined, the most difficult next step, from the perspective of another time and culture, is the interpretation of meaning—usually esoteric and religious in its nature in early Pre-Columbian cultures, and increasingly historical in later cultures.

The analysis will offer relatively few speculations on meaning. Although the proto-Maya interpretation of southern Preclassic art is stressed, and confidence in analysis of meaning in Classic Maya art is increasing, there remain real epistemological problems in directly applying later meanings to earlier examples on the basis of presumed, or even of demonstrated, historical continuity alone. Continuity of elements of iconography and subject matter is demonstrable beyond question, but the problem

of assessing either stability or change in meanings is distinct and not entirely amenable to proof. Nevertheless, one cannot negate the reality of a fundamental Mesoamerican "co-tradition" (Parsons n.d.); consequently, ancient thought on myth and cosmos still has some thread of continuity, however expressed, from Olmec to Aztec times.

I quote Miles (1965: 242) on the role of symbolic motifs in Preclassic art:

> When a symbol placed in a strikingly prominent position on an early sculpture becomes part of a sandal or wristlet in a later composition, its persistence is shown but its role has obviously changed. Shifting attitudes and values so expressed can be roughly outlined in early periods, and treated with more assurance for later times. Many symbols have great longevity over wide areas; so that few are significant criteria of period or style as such. But the great differences in details of execution and the emphasis and role given them are sensitive indicators of time and style affiliations.

Despite some of these guidelines, the analysis of prehistoric styles is not always obvious or easy, and arguments for specific attributions will continue for some time in this relatively new field.

To conclude this introduction, a few comments are in order on the corpus of some 125 numbered monuments that I present from Kaminaljuyu. I arbitrarily define "monumental" sculpture as relatively nonportable carved stones, over fifty centimeters in maximum height or width. Most of the sculpture I have included is considerably larger in scale, while a few smaller ones are included for comparison or for their associations or stylistic relevance. The extensive corpus of small, "portable," stone sculpture in the area deserves separate study.

My list includes 127 numbered monuments from Kaminaljuyu. If it were not for the random destruction of the site and closed private collections, the list would no doubt extend to some 200. The Castillo, Mata Amado, and Nottebohm collections are included, but several others either have not been published or are not readily open for examination. Further, many known sculptures have no documented provenience, although their styles suggest that they could well join the Kaminaljuyu inventory. I have assigned numbers only to those monuments confidently ascribed to the site and, in Table 4, have arranged them in a consecutive, annotated list, up-to-date as of 1984. The Guatemalan National Museum's catalogue numbers are given, when known. I have not, however, included every plain stela or basalt column. The twenty or so decorated pieces that are omitted in the text illustrations have been previously recorded, but their present whereabouts is either unknown and/or there are no photographs available. Fortunately, they are virtual duplications of other illustrated examples. I have also dealt selectively with the problematic fragments of larger sculpture, only some of which are included in the inventory.

The numeration of Kaminaljuyu sculpture followed here continues the series published by Miles (1965; see Table 5 for an errata list of her study). In so doing, however, one is trapped by those arbitrary functional categories such as "stela," "altar," and so forth. It might be more objective to call them all "monuments" and be done with it. Nevertheless, the categories of monument, stela, altar, silhouetted relief, and pedestal sculpture provide handy mental clues to the various forms of sculpture. Obviously, some "stelae" could well be wall panels, or even confused with what are conventionally called altars. Likewise, the "altars" might better be called "thrones" or "pedestals," or again be confused with stelae, panels, or "zoomorphs." The "silhouetted reliefs" and "pedestal sculptures" defined here are the more purely descriptive classifications, but a "monument" is any full-round sculpture not otherwise categorized. "Functional" terms in this volume are to be read rather as purely descriptive, in that we seldom really know how those who carved the stones actually used them: to us they stand as formalized three-dimensional displays of mythology and history, status and hierarchy, gods and demons, life and death, earth and cosmos—in other words, as an untranslated encyclopedia of ancient life and thought.

Part One: Sculptural Analysis

EMPLOYING THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCES in Table 1, this section reviews the specific content of Sculptural Divisions II through V (Middle Preclassic to Late Classic), and also describes and illustrates all of the known stone monuments from Kaminaljuyu (Table 3). Neither Style Divisions I nor VI (Early Preclassic and Postclassic) will be intensively treated, since both styles are absent from Kaminaljuyu, and according to present evidence the earlier division is absent from the entire Southern Maya area. (See Part Two for a comprehensive synthesis.)

Style Division I, Early or "classical" Olmec, centers on the Gulf Coast in the Olmec heartland before 900 B.C. This has been particularly well analyzed by Susan Milbrath (1979; see her Stylistic Groups I and II). Early Olmec emphasis is on stylistic naturalism and full-round colossal stone heads, heroic-sized seated human figures, and massive "altars" with niche figures. (See de la Fuente 1973, for a complete illustrated catalogue of Olmec monumental sculpture.) While all these classes of sculpture relate to subsequent style developments, one especially relevant single monument is Stela 1 at La Venta, a high-relief, standing human figure in a framed niche which is on a rectangular stelalike slab. Of importance is the abstract feline mouth carved at the top, a design element that has never been published clearly (Fig. 1, upper). I shall return to this early monument in discussion of later niche figures contained by "monster jaws."

Despite the substantial archaeological sites on the Southern Pacific Coast at this time, there can be real doubt that any Early Olmec monumental sculpture derives from this region. I disagree with Milbrath in her placement of at least one of our "sin cabezas" sculptures in this period, as well as the rock carvings at Pijijiapan; however, she hedges on the latter, admitting that they have provincial features. On the Pacific side, the only sculpture of any scale (66 cm) known to me that conceivably could be considered Early Olmec is the blocky statue from Ojo de Agua in Chiapas (Navarrete 1974: figs. 19–22), though this, too, may preferably be placed in the Late Olmec phase.

This survey, therefore, begins with the Late Olmec period at the outset of the Middle Preclassic—the time of the Olmec Horizon style in Mesoamerica. In addition to monumental stone sculpture, this period witnessed the extensive distribution of Late Olmec jade and other small stone carvings (many of them bearing protoglyphic symbols), ceramic figurines, and pottery styles.

Style Division II: Late Olmec (900–700 B.C.)

While there is as yet no known monumental sculpture at Kaminaljuyu in Late Olmec times, there is evidence of substantial Olmec presence (or emulation) along the Pacific Coast in the form of small, portable, stone sculptures as well as low-relief and full-round monumental sculptures. Some of the major sites include Tzutzuculi, Pijijiapan, and Ojo de Agua in Chiapas, with Abaj Takalik and San Antonio Suchitepequez (the "Shook Panel") in Guatemala (see Map 1). Low-relief carving begins with both groove-outlining and relatively flat, planar relief, especially in the provincial regions. This style occurs on the first stelae, wall panels, and rock carvings. Full-round sculpture continues with a certain amount of stylistic naturalism, but angular and blocky forms also appear. Base supports for sculptures make their appearance as well. Colossal stone heads continue with two examples from Tres Zapotes (Monuments A and Q; de la Fuente 1973: nos. 198, 199). The earliest pictographs, or "cave

paintings," are found in Guerrero and at Lake Amatitlan, Guatemala. (There is a full exposition of this period in Part Two.)

Late Olmec low-relief carvings feature relatively dynamic interaction scenes of two or more figures and include supplementary figures as well as serpent and bird motifs. A new physical type is depicted in the art, aquiline-nosed and bearded. In the Olmec heartland are the large Stelae 2 and 3 at La Venta (de la Fuente 1973: nos. 9, 10) with their suggestion of "foreign" contact and confrontation (further discussed in Part Two), as well as Monument 19 with its bent human figure surrounded by a realistic rattlesnake (de la Fuente 1973: no. 30). To the north, on the Veracruz coast, is the stela at Viejon (de la Fuente 1973: no. 92) with its confronting Late Olmec figures in planar relief. In the Central Mexican highlands most of the cliff reliefs at Chalcatzingo, Morelos, pertain to this period, including Relief 2 with its three warriors and captive (Grove 1968; Gay 1972). Relief 1, and related petroglyphs, more probably belongs to the following terminal Middle Preclassic phase, and will be discussed in that context. In highland Chiapas, Navarrete (1960: fig. 11) reported the stela at Padre Piedra, with its single standing figure, similar in style to those on the Viejon stela.

There are several important low reliefs on the Pacific Coast as well. Close to the Isthmus, at Tzutzuculi, McDonald (1977) excavated a platform with two rectangular, groove-incised, stone wall panels in situ on either side of a staircase. One has a full-front "were-jaguar" face, and the other has an abstract, rectilinear, long-snouted, profile serpent or dragon image in Late Olmec style. (For another "profile dragon" motif on a possibly contemporary Las Charcas phase pottery bowl at Kaminaljuyu, see Parsons 1967a: fig 8b.) Nearby, at the large and long-occupied site of Tonala, the earliest groove-incised Petroglyph 2 (Ferdon 1953: pl. 23c) is stylistically identical. Farther down the Chiapas coast, at Pijijiapan, are the three large boulders bearing petroglyphs—two of them featuring groups of three standing figures (Navarrete 1974). The other Late Olmec petroglyph is the famous kneeling figure carved on a boulder (Fig. 2) at the bottom of a ravine bordering the site of Abaj Takalik on the Guatemala coast (formerly called San Isidro Piedra Parada; Thompson 1943), which relates in style to Relief 2 at Chalcatzingo as well as to the following stone panel. (I presently consider the well-known petroglyphs at Las Victorias in western El Salvador to belong to the next "transition" phase.) Finally, there is the new "Shook Panel" (Fig. 3) from a place near San Antonio Suchitepequez (Map 1), which already has been well published (Shook and Heizer 1976). This unusual image, with its very extended arm-body-leg "surround," and two human footprints, seems to be a prototype for the concept expressed on round Monument 16 at San Lorenzo (Coe and Diehl 1980, 1: 323), which also shows two bare feet at the top. Monument 16 may well belong to the last Palangana phase there and possibly indicates "reverse diffusion" of an earlier iconographic idea from the south. La Venta Phase IV Monument 13 shows a similar isolated human footprint.

Selected, but representative, examples from the Olmec heartland serve to introduce the Late Olmec, full-round sculpture category. At La Venta is found a round-contoured statue with a sagittal crest (Monument 5; de la Fuente 1973: no. 17), as well as the very similar Monument 70 (de la Fuente 1973: no. 80). Monument 74 at La Venta (de la Fuente 1973: no. 83) is a crouching cat on a heavy blocklike base. Monument 75 (de la Fuente 1973: no. 84) is an angular, blocky statue relating to one of the Ojo de Agua sculptures and to another from Abaj Takalik, to be mentioned shortly. Milbrath illustrates a small La Venta kneeling sculpture belonging to Phase II, as well as a seated figure from Rancho de los Idolos (Milbrath 1979: figs. 44 and 17), both of which might be considered prototypes for the Pacific Coast "sin cabezas" group, but without the latter's conical bases.

Five Late Olmec full-round sculptures of the same period are noted for the Southern Maya area.

First, there is the complex little statue from Ojo de Agua, Chiapas (Navarrete 1974: figs. 19–22), with its blocky carving and rounded base support. Sculptures of this type on the south coast may perhaps be considered precursors to the "sin cabezas" base type that follows in the next phase (cf. Figs. 15–18). A different, very important monumental sculpture (90 cm) from near Ojo de Agua (Navarrete 1974: fig. 23) is a squatting figure with a strap-helmeted Olmec head—to be distinguished in style from the "Olmecoid" helmeted, round-based, example in Antigua, Guatemala (cf. Fig. 19). In addition to its petroglyph (Fig. 2), the early site of Abaj Takalik has two Late Olmec sculptures recently reported by John Graham. Therefore, there are three positively identified sculptures at that site in its first monument-producing period. I do not accept his niche figure, Monument 23 (Graham 1981: figs. 1, 2) as either being recarved from an Olmec colossal head or as being Late Olmec. (Division III sculpture is discussed in more detail below.) However, Monument 16 (Graham 1977: 197, 1978: pl. 8) is a squared, angular sculpture of this period relating in style to carvings at both Ojo de Agua and La Venta. Also, Monument 55 at Abaj Takalik (Graham 1981: fig. 4) is a fine example of a Late Olmec torso fragment. Finally, there is the long-exhibited (no. 2114, Museo Nacional, Guatemala) Olmec stone, bearded head fragment from the Dieseldorff collection (see Navarrete 1974: fig. 24), with its labeled provenience of San Jeronimo, Baja Verapaz. This piece can be assumed to be the earliest known sculpture from the archaeological site of El Porton, Guatemala (Map 1), a general region situated near the source of raw jadeite at Manzanal in the upper Motagua Valley, and from which Olmec jade carvings have been reported.

While the monumental sculpture of Style Division II seems disparate and scattered, more examples in the provincial regions outside the Olmec heartland are probably yet to be discovered. The principal features of the period include the first appearance of low-relief carvings on stelae, panels, and on flat surfaces of indigenous rocks, as well as the introduction of relatively blocky and angular full-round sculpture, although round-featured naturalistic forms continue. Low reliefs begin to incorporate interaction scenes, although the figures retain Olmec style features. All of this sculpture anticipates the new Southern Maya "Olmecoid" styles, to emerge in the following terminal Middle Preclassic (as well as "terminal Olmec") era, including the first examples at Kaminaljuyu—*prior* to its Providencia phase ceremonial center. As Proskouriakoff has pointed out (1968: 121), however, permanent communal architecture does not necessarily have to precede the carving of stone.

Style Division III: Late Olmec–Post-Olmec Transition (700–500 B.C.)

The most significant departure from my previous Post-Olmec exposition (Parsons 1981) is the new definition of a two-century Late Olmec–Post-Olmec Transition phase of sculptural styles overlapping La Venta Phase IV and the terminal Palangana phase at San Lorenzo. In this period new styles came into being in the Southern Maya area and in turn influenced the last Olmec sculpture produced on the Gulf Coast. The early Maya cultures responsible for the presumed intrusion may have contributed to the collapse of the Olmec, as will be summarized in Part Two.

This Transition phase witnesses the first real departure from Olmec canons of art and a greater diversity of forms and expressions. In no small way this is due to the fact that these incipient Post-Olmec styles developed in a foreign region. While they derive quite generally from classical Olmec, they are directly ancestral to the "revolutionary" Izapan styles. A specialized "Danzante" style originates in the Transition period, as well as a derivative style that might well be called "Olmecoid," as examples of it have often been confused with Olmec, if not Izapan. The present definition of Olmecoid, however, is confined to the period 700–200 B.C., with its own fully developed expressions occurring in the Late Pre-

classic 500–200 B.C. phase, after the demise of both La Venta and San Lorenzo (Table 1). These new, provincial Olmecoid styles, following the Late Olmec Horizon style in the Middle Preclassic, are a phenomenon comparable to the perceived events of the much later Middle Classic period, when an earlier Teotihuacan horizon style is immediately succeeded by a "Teotihuacanoid" phase that coalesces new regional art styles (Parsons 1969).

Certain La Venta IV sculptures, such as the sandstone sarcophagus in Complex A (Monument 6; Stirling 1943: pl. 47), a four-legged altar (Monument 15; Drucker 1952: pl. 64), and the broken greenstone Stelae 25 and 27 (Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: pls. 53, 54), all with low-relief "were-jaguar" masks, indicate a continuation of the local Olmec tradition. Others to be cited below, however, reflect the new Southern Maya styles impinging on the Olmec heartland during the 700–500 B.C. Transition. Before analyzing Danzante and Olmecoid stylistic qualities, I will describe certain types and examples, beginning with low-relief carvings and proceeding to such unusual classes of sculpture as plain and carved columnar basalts, minimally shaped boulder carvings, half-round niche figures, heavy-based "sin cabezas" figures, vertical pedestal sculptures, portable "bench figures," and other full-round carvings.

Low-Relief Sculpture

The last of the Preclassic rock carvings and related stelae survive from the more provincial regions. They are executed in a terminal Olmec fashion, and in the tradition of Late Olmec reliefs, but important new features such as scroll motifs, base-line elements, and bundles carried in the crook of the arm, are now associated. At the old trade outpost of Chalcatzingo, cliff Relief 1 (with broad, flat, compound "vapor" scrolls, rain motifs, and seated figure within abstract profile "feline jaws"), the closely related Relief 9 (a perforated panel), and possibly Relief 8 (with double scrolls and rain drops) are assigned to this terminal Middle Preclassic phase (see Joralemon 1971: figs. 258, 266, 265.) For an example of a similar early scroll motif at La Venta itself, note the green-schist upper fragment of Stela 26, buried upside down during Phase IV (Fig. 1, lower) (Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: fig. 60, right). The bracketed motif on Stela 26 also anticipates many Izapan horizon symbols. Also note the early scrolls on the contemporary Stela 9 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 5).

A much more distant stela, from San Miguel Amuco, Guerrero (Grove and Paradis 1971), not only has a rectangular basal band but features a bundle carried in the left arm, in the manner of the following two rock carvings. The petroglyph at Xoc, Chiapas (Ekholm 1973), shows a similar figure with a plaque or "bundle." Then, at Las Victorias near Chalchuapa, El Salvador, is the boulder with four terminal Olmec human reliefs on its circumference (Fig. 4), one of which holds such a bundle while another stands on a dentated base line.

A few other stelae from widely scattered sources should be listed in this stylistic context (Map 2). Just north of the Olmec heartland is a stela from Cerro de la Piedra that shows a standing figure with beaded necklace and a possible plaque, on a straight base line (Medellin 1960b, pl. 6). Nearby at El Meson is the carved columnar basalt Monument 1 (Scott 1977: fig. 1), with a standing figure on a double-voluted base line. The monument is surmounted by an emblem similar to Stela 26 at La Venta (Fig. 1, lower). (This also relates to the Alvarado column [Fig. 8] with its Danzante-like figure, basal band, and vertical row of hieroglyphs to be discussed below.) At Los Mangos, Catemaco, in the Tuxtla Mountains, there is a stela with two embracing figures standing on a double rectangular-fret basal band (de la Fuente 1973: 160). At La Venta, there is a basalt column with a figure confronting a looming serpent with tripartite scroll brow (Monument 63; de la Fuente 1973: no. 206); there is also a close counterpart at San Lorenzo (Monument 56; de la Fuente 1973: 235).

Interestingly, a round panel at La Venta (Monument 61; de la Fuente 1973: no. 72) resembles an important, but little-known, stela at La Union, Chiapas, near Izapa (Norman 1976: 300), with squatting, headdressed, terminal Olmec figures that seem equivalent to some of the rock carvings of the period (e.g., Fig. 4).

The Danzante class of low-relief sculpture of this era cannot be appreciated without reference to the naturally occurring volcanic columnar basalts, utilized either plain or carved, in both the Gulf Coast and southern regions. Alignments of plain basalt columns have been noted at El Naranjo, several kilometers northwest of Kaminaljuyu (Williamson 1877). Other isolated groups have been noted at Kaminaljuyu itself in the C-III-9 to C-III-10 zone (Map 4; information from Stephan Borhegyi, after notes by Alfred Kidder). The greatest concentration of Las Charcas phase occupation was found in this same zone. Comparable usage is diagnostic of La Venta in its "Complex A" precinct and tomb, both enclosed by shafts of prismatic columnar basalt.

The five-sided basalt column, Stela 9 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 5), may be one of the earliest low-relief carvings at that site, as Proskouriakoff (1968: 123) hypothesized. The three carved facets of this column introduce the Danzante sculptural style. In its primary situation it may have served as a door jamb or lintel in an enclosure of vertical basalt columns. However, it was redeposited during the Providencia phase in an intrusive rectangular pit excavated by Shook (1951) in the Las Charcas phase Mound C-III-6. Although this entire mound was never excavated, the pottery below the pit contained sherds no later than Las Charcas. This, therefore, may have been one of the oldest mounds at Kaminaljuyu, even though William Sanders's project did not find surviving permanent architecture prior to 500 B.C. The intrusive pit in the top of the mound contained some seventy Providencia ceramics of the early "Majadas" variant. It also yielded a fourth century B.C. radiocarbon date consistent with this Providencia pottery. While the first radiocarbon determination on this sample was c. 1000 B.C., a Yale laboratory correction read it as 372 ± 50 B.C. Since the sculpture was "reused" in this deposit, its carving can now be attributed to the prior Las Charcas phase, perhaps between 700 and 500 B.C.

Three plain basalt columns and the broken shafts of two vertical pedestal sculptures (Pedestals 1 and 2, Kaminaljuyu; Table 4) are important direct associations with Stela 9. The inclusion of the latter also provides good evidence for placement of some of the carved pedestal sculptures in the Transition phase. In addition, there was a cache containing a beaded jade necklace with pendants, and a gray stone figurine, resting on a stone slab (Fig. 6), found at the bottom of the same pit in Mound C-III-6. The necklace consists of 290 beads, plus several spoon-shaped pendants and a duckbill pendant—all characteristically Late Olmec in style. The stiff figurine with drilled eyes, drooping mouth, split kilt, and forward-turned headdress, however, may be classed as Olmecoid. It relates in style to a late jade figurine found at La Venta (Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: pl. 60).

The low-relief carving on Stela 9 depicts a linear, phallic, standing figure with an upraised arm, executed in tilted planes, and with a twisted profile. His long pointed chin may well denote a beard, as Miles (1965) has suggested, though there is no such surface detailing. He is unshod and wears only a simple belt, beaded necklace, scrolled earplug, and a symbolic trefoil-and-U headdress. This headdress resembles a central top-line element on a somewhat later Danzante monument at Kaminaljuyu, Stela 17 (Fig. 50), and a headdress symbol on the Preclassic-looking Stela 9 at Cerro de las Mesas (Stirling 1943: fig. 11a), as well as one on a Monte Alban "tumbling Danzante" (Fig. 7, upper). At the base of the Stela 9 composition is an abstract serpent-dragon motif extending to side facets of the column, as well as a broad, scroll motif. Another volute serves as a "speech scroll" issuing from the mouth of the up-turned head. Above that is a sectioned conch-shell motif.

This dynamic Danzante style did not become

codified at Monte Alban until Phase I, dated by Scott (1978: 12) from 500 to 150 B.C., thus corresponding to my subsequent Post-Olmec phase. For comparison with Stela 9, I illustrate a Monte Alban Danzante of very similar posture and proportion (Fig. 7, lower). However, both of these Monte Alban examples are dated by Scott (1978) to a terminal Danzante style overlapping the early Izapan period, and thus show the persistence of an ancient style in one provincial region.

Six other early Danzante sculptures on both the Pacific and Gulf Coasts, all presumably pre-Monte Alban I, suggest a southern origin for this substyle. One of the oldest sculptures at Izapa may be Stela 89, first published by Norman (1976: 162–164). In this monument, a dynamic, pudgy, single figure squats over a straight base line and has bound arms, a kilt, and an earplug relating to the general Danzante class. The arms tied behind the back suggest a captive—the prevailing explanation for most of the Monte Alban Danzantes. (The archaeological dating of equally early Monument 2 at Izapa [Fig. 13] will be discussed below.) Farther west on the Chiapas coast is another of the Tonala rock carvings (Petroglyph 3; Ferdon 1953: pl. 23d), with a simple, groove-outlined, linear human figure and an isolated trefoil emblem above its head.

On the Gulf Coast is the well-known Alvarado stela, which best fits this terminal Olmec Transition phase and style (Fig. 8; see Cervantes 1976, for a series of rubbings and detailed views). This is a low-relief and grooved carving on a five-sided basalt prism; it shows some unusual, precocious elements. Featured are a tall linear figure with upraised arm (cf. Figs. 5 and 7) and a seated obeisant figure in front. Above the latter is a long eroded column of some of the earliest hieroglyphs. (Navarrete [1974: fig. 25] also published an Olmecoid jadeite celt from El Sitio, on the coast of Guatemala, with a column of possibly contemporary incised glyphs on the reverse.) These rare Peripheral Coastal lowland examples precede the Monte Alban I Zapotec writing system. The basal band consists of diagonally framed geometric elements with *Tau* motifs that prefigure later Izapan conventions. However, a similar basal band is found on the contemporary Monument 2 at Izapa (Fig. 13); but the prominent *Tau* motif is even present on the upper ledge of the much earlier Altar 4 at La Venta (Joralemon 1971: fig. 144), as well as the emblem on Stela 26 (Fig. 1, lower). (An intermediate appearance of this baseline signature occurs on a Post-Olmec [Chiapa IV] incised shell at Chiapa de Corzo [Lee 1969: fig. 129], which also bears Olmecoid-looking, confronting figures.) Therefore, this motif has a long history and cannot in itself be used for chronological assignments within the Preclassic. The principal figure on the Alvarado column is sparsely adorned except for the waist band and neck pendant, and the ornate headdress which is comparable to that on Relief 1 at Chalcatzingo.

Not far from Alvarado is a low-relief, Danzante-type figure on a small column near Angel R. Cabada (El Meson), Veracruz (de la Fuente 1973: no. 209; Scott 1977: fig. 3). In the Olmec heartland we may note a very similar relief from Laguna de los Cerros (Monument 26; Medellin 1960b: pl. 29). Finally, at La Venta itself we have the round Monument 13 (de la Fuente 1973: no. 205), generally agreed to be Phase IV. This stone is altarlike in that its tapered base is as deep as the diameter of the carved surface. The striding, bearded figure, holding forth a banner, has the dynamic mannerism of the general Danzante group. This figure wears a waist band, beaded necklace, and nose bead (a trait to reappear on Kaminaljuyu Stela 11 and other Terminal Preclassic reliefs). Similar to the Alvarado stela, this has a vertical column of three proto-glyphs in front of the figure. To the left, an isolated human footprint is reminiscent of the contemporary round Monument 16 at San Lorenzo (Coe and Diehl 1980: 323). This motif was used even earlier on the south coast in the "Shook Panel" (Fig. 3). Indeed, Stela 9 at Kaminaljuyu may have inaugurated the whole Danzante substyle, later adopted at Monte Alban.

Stela 3 from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 9) is another example that can be assigned to this earlier stylistic

phase because of its simple groove-incised image. Found in Lothrop's time (1926: fig. 51) just to the west of Mound C-IV-9, it is a plain, pecked, rectangular stone with an incised "ring-tailed" fish on the upper third. The rather naturalistic fish motif has been amply discussed by Miles (1965: 251, fig. 5), especially in regard to its recurrence in later art.

Monument 6 from Abaj Takalik on the Pacific Coast (Figs. 10, 11) combines groove-incising with the earliest true boulder sculpture. It is a natural volcanic rock, minimally shaped, if at all, perhaps selected for its suggestion of a mythic animal and then covered with incised images. Discovered by Miles (1965: 247, fig. 10b), it was associated with Middle Preclassic potsherds on the eastern margin of the site, at the brink of the ravine where the petroglyph (Fig. 2) and a niche figure on a boulder (Monument 25) are located. Monument 6 has been considered a toad, but since it lacks an intentionally defined mouth, it might preferably be treated as one of the oldest serpent-bird monsters (cf. discussion below of Altars 9 and 10 at Kaminaljuyu, Parsons 1983). Profile serpent heads with avian characteristics, executed in concentric grooves, are on both sides of the front. On the top, and overlapping the back, is a separate top-view image of a serpent-bird with realistic outstretched wings (Fig. 11). The crest on the supraorbital element in the two profiles suggests a raptorial bird such as the harpy eagle (cf. the bird images incised on obsidian and jade at La Venta: Drucker 1952: figs. 48, 59a). The sculpture is probably contemporary with the Olmecoid boulder "niche figures" at the same site, to be discussed below. (Unfortunately, we can only refer to a selection of the incompletely published Preclassic monuments from Abaj Takalik, which is so important to our analysis of southern sculpture.)

Full-Round Sculpture

Reference to boulder sculpture introduces the discussion of full-round Olmecoid sculpture of the Transition era, with initial examples from Tiltepec and Tzutzuculi, near Tonala and the Isthmus, on the Southern Pacific Coast. These comprise a group of modified boulder sculptures, still not fully or adequately published, with puffy features and wrap-around limbs. While these anticipate certain Monte Alto style conventions, Milbrath (1979: 38) is probably correct in dating them to the end of the Middle Preclassic, c. 700–500 B.C. Of particular interest is a monument from Tiltepec (Fig. 12; and Milbrath 1979: fig. 50), with puffy eye-and-mouth faces surrounded by "cartouche" bands and attachments on their circumferences. The Milbrath photo is slightly better and shows the engaged limbs at the base. In addition, there are two other very similar stones from Tzutzuculi (Milbrath 1979: fig. 52; Navarrete 1959: fig. 8d). These carvings, on the south coast, may be the inspiration for the highly aberrant upper fragment of what Stirling considered a colossal "head" from the site of San Miguel, Tabasco, just east of La Venta. The San Miguel head is covered with nine almost identical faces within cartouches (Stirling 1957: pl. 50). (This same sculpture has been mislabeled as Monument 71 from La Venta by some of Heizer's students; cf. Clewlow 1974: 189.) Incidentally, from this period there is one final colossal stone head on the Gulf Coast at Cerro el Vigia, near Tres Zapotes (de la Fuente 1973: no. 88), whose heavy-lidded eyes and down-turned mouth appear Olmecoid. Another boulder sculpture from Tiltepec depicts a full-standing figure with a headdress in high relief (Milbrath 1979: fig. 51), reminiscent of the central figure on La Venta Stela 2. Yet another example is the first Transition "niche figure" from the same Tiltepec locale (Milbrath 1979: fig. 54). What does not show in that detail photo is the fact that this 130 cm-high boulder sculpture reveals a half-round seated human figure recessed in the open jaws of an Olmecoid monster. Carved on the top is a projecting blunt snout flanked by the animal's eyes (see Norman 1976: fig. 5.27, for better views).

There are a half dozen such niche-figure boulder

sculptures on the Southern Pacific Coast. The basic concept goes back to the massive classical Olmec "altars," as well as to La Venta Stela 1 (Fig. 1, upper), where human figures emerge from niches alternatively explained as mouths of caves or feline jaws. However, the following examples in the south are new Olmecoid expressions. The latest Preclassic example, Stela D at Tres Zapotes, is now assigned to the early Izapan period because of details and qualities of its relief. Monument 2 at Izapa (Fig. 13; also illustrated in Stirling's 1943 reconnaissance report) is probably the best known of this class. However, its true age was uncertain until the New World Archaeological Foundation excavated at Izapa and found Monument 2 to be in situ on a stone rubble platform behind Mound 30. Lowe, Lee, and Martínez (1982: 196), while admitting this probably to be the earliest carving at Izapa, would date it no earlier than the Frontera phase, between 500 and 250 B.C., on the basis of associated potsherds. I would accept this earliest date on the basis of style, but despite evidence of the surrounding platform I would suggest the time of carving to belong to the preceding Escalon phase (700–500 B.C.), simultaneous with the earliest Izapan architecture at the end of the Middle Preclassic. Monument 2 is a deeply carved boulder showing a damaged, Olmec-looking human figure emerging from the prodigious jaws of a reptilian monster. The snout is depicted on the top, scroll-surrounded eyes on the sides, low-relief teeth fringe the open jaws, and there is a rectilinear base-line motif on a projecting "mandible" (Fig. 13; see Norman 1976: figs. 5.25, .26, for other views). The base line is comparable to that on the Alvarado stela (Fig. 8).

This approximately dated example provides a basis for evaluation of Monument 23, the controversial niche figure on a shaped boulder, across the present international border at Abaj Takalik (Graham 1981: figs. 1, 2; see Weaver 1981: pl. 1g, for a side view). It is controversial in that Graham (1981) declares that it was drastically recarved from a local Early Olmec style colossal stone head, having interpreted the side motifs as human ears rather than the upward-directed scrolled eyes of another open-jawed monster. If Monument 23 had been tampered with, it must have occurred in Izapan times, as the indented top contour resembles both Stela D at Tres Zapotes and Stela 5 at Abaj Takalik itself. However, I believe that the deeply carved, half-round, seated niche figure on a ledge, framed as it is by a monster jaw, is consistent with the whole carving, as is Izapa Monument 2, or even the Tiltepec niche figure. At any rate, Graham's observation cannot be proved; but I see neither "pure" Olmec colossal heads on the Pacific Coast nor proto-Olmec sculptures.

There are, in addition, two other boulder niche figures of this period at Abaj Takalik. Monument 25, an indigenous volcanic boulder located at the bottom of the ravine not far from Petroglyph 1 (Fig. 2), features a high-relief seated figure in a niche. It has the same stylistic qualities as the figure on Monument 23, except that the face was recarved in much later times with Mexican circular Xipe-like incisions (personal observation). The heavy shoulders are demarcated in the fashion of the "bench figures" discussed below. Monument 15 at Abaj Takalik (Graham, Heizer, and Shook 1978: pl. 7) is another battered niche figure, with exaggerated shoulders, on a small boulder. Monument 14 at that site (Graham 1981: fig. 3), with an animal in the lap of a squatting figure, appears to be related, but the flowing striated hair, as well as the sinuous, pointed, flame-feather motifs on the sides of the figure, suggest a much later Cotzumalhuapan stylistic assignment. The Classic Cotzumalhuapa style itself has some archaistic features, and this sculpture will be discussed again in that context.

The last niche figure sculpture on the Southern Pacific Coast (Fig. 14) was found recently by Frederick Bove at Los Cerritos-South, Escuintla, a site not far to the east of Monte Alto. According to Bove (n.d.), it is essentially Middle Preclassic. On the front of the monument is an Olmecoid high-relief squatting figure on a base line. The face, as on Monument 25 at Abaj Takalik, has been recarved with three circles in Xipe fashion.

Both sides of this thick slab are carved in low relief, with Terminal Olmec profile were-jaguar motifs, such as are common on the portable jade carvings so widely distributed during the Middle Preclassic.

Certain Terminal Olmec niche figures at La Venta may, at this time, have been inspired by the Southern Maya region rather than directly derived from an earlier local tradition. First, there is the stylistically late Altar 6 (de la Fuente 1973: no. 6) with an engaged full-round, blocky, burly-shouldered figure apparently emerging from a niche, but more obviously perched on a basal ledge, as in some of the related southern sculptures. Second, Altar 7 at La Venta (de la Fuente 1973: no. 7) is aberrant in having a human head in a niche flanked by low-relief figures. Whatever the source of influence, in this period the type is more abundant in the Southern Maya region.

A style of full-round naturalism persists in Transition phase sculpture in the southern area. Some of these seem remarkably "classical" Olmec, except for certain special, distinctive features, especially in the case of the group called "sin cabezas," after the type site of the same name, near Tiquisate on the western fringe of the Department of Escuintla (Figs. 15–17). Four headless, seated sculptures were first reported by Shook (1950) at the Late Classic site he christened Sin Cabezas. It may be accepted, therefore, that they were resurrected and repositioned during a much later occupation of the site. There is no archaeological evidence for their absolute date, or even for when their heads were broken off (could it have been by the Middle Classic Teotihuacan intruders?).

The distinctly southern characteristic of these sculptures lies in the unprecedented heavy rounded bases, the carvers having "released" the full-rounded seated figures from the modified boulders. One must also realize the small scale of the carvings; the headless figures vary between only 30 and 45 cm in height. The mass of the bases of Monuments 1 and 2 at Sin Cabezas is far greater than the sculptures themselves. The conical support for Monument 3, the one with the extremely distended potbelly, is the least massive, and possibly the latest in the series. (Monument 4, said to resemble 1 and 2, had been considerably damaged, was not photographed, and its present location is unknown.) I suggest that this treatment of stone anticipated the Monte Alto style of potbelly sculpture, and is related in concept and style to the peg-based and vertical pedestal sculptures—although the last were probably pecked from natural basalt columns. While the cross-legged, naturalistic, full-round figures on Monuments 1 and 2 reflect prior Olmec canons, they represent an independent style on the south coast. Monument 1, with its full-rounded contours, (flaked) arms crossing its torso, and simple waist band, is the most Olmec-looking (Fig. 15; see Parsons and Jenson 1965: fig. 18, for a side view). Monument 2, of similar posture, once held something in its lap (an infant?) and has adornments in the form of a knotted belt and a fringed shoulder cape (Fig. 16; see Parsons and Jenson 1965: fig. 19, for side and back views). Monument 3 (Fig. 17), in addition to a non-Olmec belly, has a perforated right hand (the left clasps his belly) and grooved leg ligatures just below the knees, a feature to be noted on other transitional sculptures. A loincloth flap, or kilt, is indicated on the back.

Another related pair of "sin cabezas" sculptures, of the same scale but with reduced rounded bases, is located in the Popol Vuh Museum (Castillo collection) in Guatemala City (Fig. 18). According to Jorge Castillo (personal communication, 1977), they were found in the south of the Department of Suchitepequez, not far from Tiquisate.[4] These depict full-round, naturalistic, kneeling figures with their legs tucked under and feet showing behind. In posture they resemble more closely some of the figures on the vertical pedestal

[4] One dislikes to keep disagreeing with a distinguished colleague, but John Graham (1981: ftn. 2) states that these are of "most dubious authenticity," although he presents no grounds for this assertion. Further, Graham denies that the sculpture in Antigua (Fig. 19) is stylistically related to the "sin cabezas" group.

sculptures (cf. Fig. 39). Another complete small sculpture, with a short rounded base (Fig. 19), from a private collection in Antigua, finishes the series and is of special interest because of its intact Olmecoid head. It is seated tailor-fashion with hands on knees, has a simple belt with plain flap behind, and a tight-fitting helmet. The facial features are more Olmecoid than Olmec, and vaguely resemble the contemporary colossal stone head at Cerro el Vigia on the Gulf Coast (de la Fuente 1973: no. 88). While the "sin cabezas" heads have never been found, it is most likely that they matched the style of this Antigua head, rather than that of the Late Olmec seated sculpture from near Ojo de Agua, Chiapas (Navarrete 1974: fig. 23). The latter, incidentally, has a tight-fitting helmet like the Antigua figure, but the facial features, especially the mouth, are distinctly different, as is the treatment of the body.

Several additional "sin cabezas-derived" sculptures lend support to the thesis that these provide a definite transition to the Monte Alto "potbelly" style of the Post-Olmec period. A monument from El Balsamo, Escuintla, previously published as an unidentified style (Parsons 1969: pl. 54a), is actually a rather crude, eroded, severed-head sculpture of the general "sin cabezas" class on an expanded conical base. On its broken neck area another late Xipe-type face has been pecked into the earlier monument—perhaps also attributable to the Middle Classic Teotihuacanos. Shook and Hatch republished this sculpture (1978: fig. 3b), and further declared the site (or part of it) to be Middle Preclassic. Not far to the east, at another Middle Preclassic site called Los Cerritos-South, there is a very early Monte Alto-like sculpture on an expanded conical base of the "sin cabezas" type (Fig. 20). The earliest small Monte Alto potbelly sculptures indeed may belong to the end of the Middle Preclassic. At Chalchuapa in western El Salvador, Robert Sharer's excavations recovered several very crude examples, one of which (Monument 7; Sharer 1978, 1: 172) is claimed to be from the earliest mound, c. 600 B.C. Finally, there is the stylistically difficult-to-place monument from Palo Gordo (Fig. 21). I formerly considered it to be incipient Cotzumalhuapan (Parsons 1969: pl. 55b), but because of its conical base (see Termer 1963: pls. 6, 7, for the head and torso sections in situ), wrap-around limbs, and eye-to-ear lines (cf. Fig. 37), I now suspect it to be a rather early sculpture. If not, it is one of the very archaistic carvings of the Middle Classic period.

In addition to these sculptures on bases, there are some entirely full-round sculptures, with comparable naturalistic qualities and doubtless of the same period. The most notable is the long-known anthropomorphic feline sculpture from the Izapa vicinity (Fig. 22), originally reported from the nearby town of Tuxtla Chico. More recently, a similar broken sculpture was found at Izapa itself (Monument 25; Norman 1976: 271). Although the magnificent rampant feline has rather elaborated ornamentation, the rounded character of the limbs is reminiscent of the "sin cabezas" group. The animal wears tufted anklets, a grooved loincloth, a projecting bustle, and a striated hairdo that falls down his back. The banded headdress, with forward-turned topknot, resembles the one worn by the figurine in the Kaminaljuyu Stela 9 cache (Fig. 6) as well as the headdresses of the peg-based sculptures (e.g., Figs. 35–37), all of the same Transition phase.

I am in agreement with Graham (1981: fig. 9) that broken, in-the-round Monument 33 from Abaj Takalik relates to Monument 3 from Sin Cabezas, both in quality of carving as well as for the distended belly. Of further interest is a nearly identical broken sculpture at the Popol Vuh Museum, which came from the vicinity of San Antonio Suchitepequez (Jorge Castillo, personal communication, 1977), the same locale as the earlier "Shook Panel." Two full-round sculptures, said to be from Kaminaljuyu, also fit this style group. One, from an Antigua private collection, is a small, headless, seated sculpture that looks like a "sin cabezas" type without the massive base. This is numbered Monument 59, Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 23). The fat, cross-legged individual, with hands on the knees and fat thighs that continue around

the back, also resembles some of the pedestal sculpture figures. Monument 50 from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 24) is a highly unusual puffy-featured full-round sculpture. The lower half is a brooding head and torso with bent arms and hands that look like those of the Izapa rampant feline. Surmounting this image is an anthropomorphic fat-cheeked bat with grooved, realistic, outstretched wings.

For comparison with some of these "proto-Monte Alto" puffy-faced sculptures in the south, several examples from the Olmec heartland seem related stylistically yet are seemingly out of place at their source. The long, horizontally tenoned Monument F from Tres Zapotes (Fig. 25) has these same peculiar bulbous facial features and bent, rounded arms—and probably is contemporary. At the same site the headless seated figure with hands on the knees (Stirling 1943: pl. 9c, and, in fact, all the fragments in this same plate) could well be of this period. Likewise, Monument 56 at La Venta (de la Fuente 1973: no. 67), with its upward-turned, puffy-featured head and bent arms, can now be placed stylistically and chronologically. Further, the small egg-shaped boulder with related visage, from an island in Lake Catemaco (Blom and La Farge 1926: fig. 21), can also be put in this general cluster. Such swollen faces first appear in the Tiltepec group (Fig. 12) and in the San Miguel, Tabasco, head (Stirling 1957: pl. 50).

The Kaminaljuyu Project uncovered one more full-round headless seated sculpture (Monument 62; Figs. 26, 27) that may be among the earliest at that site, although we can only tentatively place it at the end of the Middle Preclassic. This was found in an eighth-century A.D. "monument plaza" context at the Palangana, close to the spot where Monument 2 had been situated (Map 5). The engaged nature of the relief on the torso, the flat back and other features, relate it to immediately subsequent Post-Olmec sculptures, which should not be unexpected, as this is a transition phase. We discuss it here partly because of its sculptural relationship to a full-round seated figure from Chalcatzingo (Fig. 28) which is presumed to be contemporary with the latest relief carvings there (e.g., Relief 1), and is in Terminal Olmec style. The headless Chalcatzingo sculpture has a flat back, hands on the knees, a groove around the waist, vestiges of a plain collar, plus symbolic emblems on the torso consisting of a framed St. Andrew's cross over a double crenulated sign. Remarkably, this combination of symbols parallels those incised on the torso of the lap-infant on the Olmec "Las Limas" statue (Joralemon 1976: fig. 3d).

Monument 62 at Kaminaljuyu has a similar posture and style and also a plain collar. However, the torso is emblazoned with a low-relief Olmecoid face with down-turned mouth and knotted-bow headdress. It shows beaded arm bands and wristlets, as well as double-round earplugs. The wristlets, earplugs, and the collar, also relate to the boulder Monument 42 at the same site (cf. Figs. 62 and 63), which we tentatively place in the following Post-Olmec subphase.

Two full-round feline sculptures of the period conclude this section. From Patzun, the central locale of bench figures and pedestal sculptures, comes a seated jaguar (Fig. 29) whose blocky carving, and the way the arms are freed from the torso, resemble the peg-based pedestal sculptures. The blocky treatment of the arms also resembles Altar 6 at La Venta. This carving also depicts the tail, male genitals, and a knotted bow tie (see Lehmann 1968: pl. 199, for a clearer front view). A jaguar sculpture from Bilbao on the coast (Monument 86; Fig. 30) has the same type of feline head and frontally poised paws.

Bench Figures and Pedestal Sculptures

There is a numerous class of small portable sculptures in the Southern Maya area aptly called "bench figures" (Figs. 31–34). These derive from Late Olmec conceptions, and yet often are uniquely Olmecoid in execution and doubtless belong to this Transition phase. They are also comparable in detail to some of the pedestal sculptures (and, indeed, have the same distribu-

tion), as well as to the last stone monuments at La Venta. A miniature Late Olmec prototype for this sort of figure is seated on a throne or bench, holding a supine infant in his lap (Museum of Primitive Art 1974: fig. 2).

The southern bench figures range from Chiapas to El Salvador, with the greatest concentration of finds in the Tecpan-Patzun-Chimaltenango plateau region west of the Valley of Guatemala. These are often carved of hard, polished, fine-grain stone and feature rigid, blocky human figures seated with their legs overhanging a bench or "throne." Distinguishing stylistic traits usually include: aquiline noses, beards, heavy, burly shoulders, arms cut free from a concave torso, and hands on the bench or knees. The low benches themselves are usually four-legged and either ledged or scroll-ended. Figures 31–34 illustrate four representative examples. (Note that Fig. 31 is from Chiapas, Figs. 32 and 33 are from the central Guatemala highlands, and Fig. 34 is from El Salvador. See Easby and Scott 1970: no. 66, for a front view of Fig. 32; Miles 1965: fig. 10e, for another example from Patzun; and Kidder and Samayoa 1959: fig. 23, for one from the same region.) Navarrete (1972) discusses and illustrates a sample of these, but suggests later dating. Stylistically related "bunched shoulder" figures also turn up in West Mexico (e.g., Covarrubias 1957: pl. 18, right; now known to be from Guerrero), where a great many other Olmecoid stone masks and figurines occur. Incidentally, the renowned abstract "Mezcala" stone figure style there may be Post-Olmec, after 500 B.C.

The first type of full-round pedestal sculpture, with short "peg" supports, is stylistically unified in the manner in which the arms are separated from the indented torso, and in the accented shoulders (Figs. 35–37). (Fig. 35 is Pedestal 4 from Kaminaljuyu; Fig. 37 is from Tecpan or Patzun; and Fig. 36 has the listed provenience of the Antigua Valley.) This type is also concentrated in the central highlands of Guatemala. The concept of a special base support relates both to the "sin cabezas" group and to the tall vertical pedestals to be discussed next. The sculpture form may even be ancestral to the stylistically different "silhouetted reliefs" of the Terminal Preclassic; the essential features are curiously similar to the later Diquis-style stone figures from Costa Rica (e.g., Parsons 1980: no. 349).

This group has consistent style traits: standing human figures on peglike bases with slit openings between the legs as well as the arms and body. Ligature grooves emphasize the shoulders, and the legs also may have such ligatures (Fig. 37), reminiscent of Sin Cabezas Monument 3 (Fig. 17). The hands are cupped at the waist and often perforated, again like the Sin Cabezas figure. We find diagnostic incised eye-ear lines and banded headdresses with forward-turned flaps similar to those of the Izapa rampant jaguar (Fig. 22) and the Kaminaljuyu Stela 9 cache figurine (Fig. 6). Another such torso fragment in Berlin is recorded from Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa on the coast. An additional complete example may be found in the Popol Vuh Museum collection (Lehmann 1968: no. 253); and yet another is now at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University (no. C/9540).

The specialized extreme of this sculpture class would be of the tall vertical pedestal variety, with squared (occasionally rounded) bases supporting full-round naturalistic human or animal sculptures often perched on a bench carved at the top of the shafts. These monuments probably were pecked from natural columns of basalt. Their plain bases are usually found broken, but complete examples can be several meters in height (Fig. 41). While these are also distributed from Chiapas to El Salvador, they concentrate in the central highlands. In style they duplicate aspects of full-round "sin cabezas" sculptures, the bench figures, and the peg-based group just discussed.

Seven such pedestal fragments are positively assigned to Kaminaljuyu (although Pedestal 4 is of the openwork peg-based type). Pedestals 1 and 2, Kaminaljuyu, are merely broken squared shafts, but are significant because of their direct association in Mound C-III-6 with Stela 9 (Fig. 5), as well as with plain prismatic columnar basalts (Shook

1951), an assemblage rather confidently assigned to the Transition phase. Vertical Pedestal 3 fragment, discovered in the fill of Verbena phase Mound E-III-3 (Fig. 38, left), has a full-round, headless, crouching feline (with tail) on a scroll-ended bench carved at the top of the broken square shaft. Pedestal 5, Kaminaljuyu, from the Jorge Castillo collection in the Museo Popol Vuh (not illustrated; see Table 4) is virtually identical, though it possesses more of its pedestal. Broken Pedestal 6 (Fig. 39) retains the lower portion of a full-round, very naturalistic, kneeling human figure over a scrolled four-legged bench and a long shaft. This was found just north of the C-II-4 Acropolis at the site (Map 4). The Pedestal 7 fragment (Fig. 38, right), found within the C-II-4 complex, has an anthropomorphic figure (there is a tail on the reverse) seated with its legs overhanging an offset-ledged, four-legged bench at the top of the broken shaft. Other fine examples in the Museo Nacional in Guatemala may well have come from the site of Kaminaljuyu (e.g., Kidder and Samayoa, 1959: figs. 9, 10), but unfortunately lack specific documentation.

Since the sample from Kaminaljuyu is so fragmentary, other comparative examples will augment a list that is nonetheless far from complete; both the bench figures and the vertical pedestal sculptures deserve a thorough study in themselves. They could be seriated, as there is a great number of them and a great variation: from short to long-shafted examples, from rounded to blocky effigy forms, and from benchlike mounts to simple banded bases (or conversely, with no definition at all between shaft and effigy). Some of the vertical pedestal sculptures could well continue into the final Post-Olmec period. They also are known to recur in Postclassic times and in the late periods of lower Central America (Miles 1965: 270). I have illustrated a pedestal sculpture from El Porton, Baja Verapaz (Fig. 40), one of four such sculptures found (Sedat and Sharer 1972) in a vicinity where a Late Olmec stone head fragment was reported, as well as an "Izapan" stela (both discussed elsewhere in this work). I have also illustrated (Fig. 41) two very tall pedestal sculptures from the vicinity of Tecpan. One is a naturalistic feline effigy on a square shaft, and the other is a monkey on a round shaft.

For the sake of distribution and stylistic variety, a few others should be indicated. A vertical pedestal from San Jose Pinula, on the plateau east of the Valley of Guatemala (Milbrath 1979: fig. 58), is topped by a blocky, openwork, human figure with legs overhanging a bench, very close in style to the peg-based pedestals as well as to some sculptures from La Venta cited below. Tonala, Chiapas, has its pedestal sculpture (Ferdon 1953: pl. 20f), as does Izapa (Norman 1976: 261). Miles (1965: fig. 11d) illustrates one from across the border at El Sitio. A half dozen very similar ones are known, including a top fragment from Abaj Takalik (Thompson 1943: 112g, i). Four vertical pedestal fragments also come from Bilbao in Escuintla (Parsons 1969: pl. 48e–h). Finally, Richardson (1940: fig. 36a) illustrates one from southwestern Honduras or El Salvador.

Among the last La Venta Phase IV examples, Altar 6 (de la Fuente 1973: no. 6) reflects many of the conventions noted above, including the exaggerated blocky shoulders. Monument 40 at La Venta (Milbrath 1979: fig. 26) is a seated human figure on a bench and a square shaft of exactly the type we have been talking about. Also, Monument 21 at the same site (Milbrath 1979: fig. 27) is a broken human figure on a ledged tablelike bench. We propose that these monuments represent stylistic influence from the south, where these traits are far more common in this period.

Miscellaneous Sculpture

Other classes of small or portable sculptures must be briefly reviewed to conclude the discussion of the content of the Transition phase. First of all, the earliest "mushroom stones" in the southern area parallel the styles discussed above. Though many more could be cited (see Borhegyi 1961, for the best general exposition of mushroom stone types), only three are illustrated here. One (Fig. 42)

is a mushroom-capped, full-round monkey effigy on a ledged four-legged bench. The other two (Figs. 43, 44) have seated human figures with all the essential qualities of the peg-based pedestal sculptures, such as cutout arms, armbands, eye-ear lines, and identical facial features. One illustrated by Easby and Scott (1970: no. 63) is a kneeling figure on a blocky base with "bunched" shoulders. (See Rose [n.d.] for further classifications of these objects, as well as his association of them with the Mesoamerican ball game.)

Another sculptural subject never systematically documented is the class of plain and carved spherical stone balls of quite variable diameters. Widely distributed in Preclassic Pre-Columbian sites, some probably belong to this epoch, though a complete analysis will not be undertaken here. Just one is illustrated, from Santa Clara on the south coast of Guatemala (Fig. 45); its encircled Olmecoid face, among other things, resembles some of the Tiltepec sculptures (Fig. 12). For a possibly earlier example, see Emmerich (1963: 57), for a possibly later example, see Figure 133.

While a great many other small carvings should be assigned to this period, they are beyond the scope of this study of monumental sculpture. Various so-called ball game "knee yokes" and "handstones" have intriguing Olmecoid traits, and some ritual association of the spherical stones with the rubber balls used in the Mesoamerican ball game complex also could be suggested. Likewise, there are a number of widely distributed Olmecoid stone masks and small bearded kneeling figures of comparable styles.

Nevertheless, one unusual green steatite mask that we excavated at Monte Alto (Fig. 46; Stuart and Stuart 1969: 198) warrants description. It was found between two Late Classic ceramic bowls, near the top of the acropolis-like Mound 6 at the northern margin of the site, where it had been cached during a late reoccupation (Map 6). While the style is difficult to place, it is probably a Preclassic heirloom, perhaps contemporary with the Post-Olmec boulder sculptures at the same site. Its distinctive features are circular perforated eyes, double-arched supraorbital protuberances, fat cheeks and lips, and drilled tabular ears. The drilled eyes and generalized facial features resemble the Stela 9 cache figurine (Fig. 6) of this earlier period, and perhaps some of the bench figures, but they also have traits in common with Late Preclassic sculptures. I show another one of these equivocal early stone masks (Fig. 47) for comparison, partly because it was reported to have been found nearby in Escuintla at Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa.

The puzzling monolithic U-shaped drain trough (at least its very limited presence in the "south" is puzzling) is the final special type of sculpture that may be of the Transition phase. Extensive drain systems, utilizing lines of these same stones covered by flat slabs, are a diagnostic feature of the site of San Lorenzo as well as the "Stirling Group" at La Venta (Heizer, Graham, and Napton 1968). At San Lorenzo they are Early Olmec; at La Venta the drain systems are not positively dated, but may be as late as 500 B.C. (Heizer, Graham, and Napton 1968: 152). At Kaminaljuyu, two U-shaped stone troughs of identical size and form were found by Gustavo Espinosa, apparently near the platform north of C-III-2 where Monuments 42 and 43 (cf. Figs. 61–65) are located. Unfortunately, their original context there was not reported. One of these (Monument 45; Fig. 48) is illustrated; concentric grooves on both sides, near the broken end, hint that there may have been an attached effigy spout (cf. Fig. 49, and the effigy drain at San Lorenzo, Monument 52; Coe and Diehl 1980, 1: 361). Monument 46 (Table 4), evidently found nearby, is a somewhat smaller broken fragment of a plain U-shaped drain stone. Similarly, at Izapa two plain drain-trough fragments have come to light (Monuments 20 and 30; Norman 1976: 269, 273). At Izapa, they conceivably belong to the early Escalon architectural phase (700–500 B.C.); but if the two at Kaminaljuyu are contemporary, they would predate the Providencia phase ceremonial center, just as the suggested columnar basalt alignments or enclosures there.

Possibly at both sites the drains could indicate an influence *from* La Venta IV, in contrast with the

direction of influence postulated for some of the other sculptures cited. Until in situ stone drain systems are unearthed and dated at Izapa and Kaminaljuyu, the question will remain open. Reciprocal exchanges of ideas in the Transition phase cannot be disregarded, though we have demonstrated that some conventions such as puffy faces, Danzante postures, and bench figures probably originated in the southern area.

In addition, both Kaminaljuyu and Izapa have gargoylelike effigy drain troughs, the style of which suggests a Post-Olmec survival of the monolithic stone drain concept. Monument 47 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 49) terminates in a realistic serpent head that also serves as the outlet for the long narrow trough. The opposite end is closed, but there is one side notch as though to receive another right-angle drain stone (cf. Monument 9 at San Lorenzo—a duck basin with side notch for a feeder drain; Coe and Diehl 1980 : 314). Although the site provenience of Monument 47 is unknown, the serpent-head carving resembles one in low relief on the Post-Olmec Monument 42 (Figs. 62, 63). One more large, effigy-headed drain trough fragment at Izapa (Monument 3; Norman 1976: 260) may be contemporary. On this, the serpent-monster traits are of a highly developed Olmecoid style. Cobblestone-lined drain systems were common at Monte Alto during the Late and Terminal Preclassic, but the monolithic variety is apparently Olmec-inspired, and most likely earlier.

Stylistic Summary

This extensive discussion of the sculptural features of the Late Olmec–Post-Olmec Transition, 700–500 B.C. phase, essentially contemporary with the terminal Olmec La Venta IV phase, can be briefly summarized. Two new substyles in the Southern Maya area have been documented: "Danzante" and "Olmecoid," both of which also continue in the 500–200 B.C. Post-Olmec subphase.

The southern area seems to have been the most stylistically diverse and innovative at this time, introducing sculptural styles that influenced the Gulf Coast. Types of sculpture have included columnar basalts, pedestal sculptures, the first boulder sculptures, boulder niche figures, the first altarlike stones unassociated with stelae, and the last rock carvings, as well as the final colossal stone heads on the Gulf Coast, which show Olmecoid features. In addition, there are significant new portable sculpture types such as bench figures and mushroom stones. While low-relief sculpture continues in essentially planar fashion and includes grooved incising, there is still a greater emphasis on full-round depictions. The latter comprise both rounded, naturalistic, and blocky, angular examples and the beginning of "engaged" relief—though the naturalistic mode predominates. Although images generally have minimal adornment, there is a beginning of elaborate headdresses, scroll motifs, base-line designs, and even columns of hieroglyphs. Significantly, Kaminaljuyu has entered the picture with its earliest monumental sculptures (a tentative total of fifteen; see Table 3).

The specialized low-relief Danzante style is epitomized by Stela 9 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 5), and is replicated in a half-dozen Peripheral Coastal lowland examples of the Transition phase. These are very dynamic human figures, usually with one arm upraised, and tall linear proportions. The figures lack footgear, but may have waist bands, beaded necklaces, and headdresses. Background space is about equal to the area occupied by carved relief. Since the full development of this style is at Monte Alban in the next Post-Olmec era, it will not be further discussed in this section.

The Olmecoid substyle is more difficult to define in that it has strong Olmec derivatives with rather free new expressions and even regional idiosyncracies. While the style begins at this time in the south, its principal manifestation is Post-Olmec (and pre-Izapan). Generally speaking, most sculptures that remind one of Olmec, yet are aberrant or crude or seemingly degenerate with respect to classical Olmec, may be classed as Olmecoid, as long as the designation is confined to carvings of the 700–200 B.C. period.

To be more specific, Olmecoid stone visages have a tendency toward stylized fat features with puffy (often closed) eyes, lips either full and straight, trapezoidal, or down-turned in a "pouting" expression, unrelated to the earlier "were-jaguar" or even naturalistic renderings. There is often an indented separation between full cheeks and nose-and-mouth. While a number of body types occur in the various Olmecoid classes of sculpture, it is the facial features that identify the style most positively. In addition, there are many unique traits that already have become evident in our review of individual examples. This discussion of Olmecoid sculpture will be rounded out in the section to follow, for it is a truly transitional phase, with a mixture of Late Olmec and coalescing Post-Olmec style traits.

Style Division III: Post-Olmec (500–200 B.C.)

At the opening of the Late Preclassic there is a marked Southern Maya domination in stone sculpture styles, as the several classical Olmec heartland sites have already declined—although other sites in the area, such as Tres Zapotes, have survived. This Post-Olmec division entirely corresponds to the Providencia phase at Kaminaljuyu, where there is an early proliferation of monumental sculpture (see Table 3 for about twenty-five examples). The transitional Danzante substyle becomes principally relegated to the provincial zone of Oaxaca, the Olmecoid art style comes to its ultimate expression in both low relief and full round, and the Monte Alto substyle takes over as a southern specialized class of boulder sculpture. All of these styles coalesce in regional traditions that develop, without appreciable break, into the Terminal Preclassic Izapan styles. However, the Izapan sculpture division as a whole is easily distinguishable from the Post-Olmec division. For instance, Izapan period sculpture is predominantly low relief. It is even probable that a few of the stelae at the site of Izapa belong to this Olmecoid period circa the third century B.C.

Gulf Coast sites with Post-Olmec sculpture, primarily full round, are concentrated farther to the northwest of the Olmec heartland. Also the first southern-related boulder sculptures appear in the Central Maya lowlands. Further, a greater quantity of stone monuments is evenly distributed along the Pacific Coastal slopes and plains, while Kaminaljuyu becomes an influential participant in this whole sphere of sculptural activity; its low-relief carvings especially establish a developmental antecedent for the florescence of Arenal and Miraflores sculpture in the subsequent era. It is informative to see the precise southern distribution (Map 2) clustering on the coast of Guatemala and overlapping the Chiapas and Salvador borders, with Kaminaljuyu centrally located in the adjacent highlands.

I will mention certain general stylistic features of this Olmecoid sculpture division (the Monte Alto substyle is separately treated below) before describing the type examples. There is a significant increase in low-relief sculpture in the southern area, though full-round sculpture continues to flourish. Possibly some of the plain uncarved stelae found at many sites belong to the period, although they cannot as yet be confidently dated and doubtless persist contemporaneously with carved stelae at Izapan period sites. Types of stone monuments include not only stelae, but presumed wall panels and at least one low-relief columnar basalt (cf. Fig. 52). There are also zoomorphic altars, a variety of effigy boulder sculptures, and other full-round sculptures including flat-backed seated figures. Certain vertical pedestal sculptures and mushroom stones probably continue to be produced in this phase, and we may see the first of the silhouetted relief sculptures (cf. Fig. 58).

Low relief shows a continued tendency toward dynamic postures, with a flat, planar quality to the carving. Configurations are replete with compound bipartite or tripartite scrolls of wide and even contour. Images fill more of the background space, which in turn is evenly pecked away from the relief. The compositions also lack framed borders.

In full-round sculpture there are fewer naturalistic representations, and there is often a ruder aspect than before (especially in the Monte Alto group—a factor that previously led to the notion that these sculptures may have been pre-Olmec). The carved elements are now stylized, blocky, and angular rather than rounded; features, limbs, and other design elements usually are applied as "engaged" relief to these full-round surfaces.

The subject matter presents a more diverse and complex iconography, and the images are increasingly grotesque, with esoteric symbolism. Monster-masked figures and profile dragon monsters are common, as are anthropomorphic felines and other animal (serpent, toad, etc.) and human figures. Human visages are frequently fat-featured, with bulbous noses and puffy eyes and cheeks. Some low-relief figures have knobbed knees and elbows. A definite trophy-head cult makes its appearance, and we see possibly the first "diving" deities. Some stelae bear the first top-line designs, or "celestial" bands (cf. Fig. 50). Prevalent motifs, in addition to broad scrolls, include double-voluted earplugs, rounded rectangles (especially as monster-eye motifs), arm and leg ligatures, beards or false beards, and simplified indications of clothing and adornment (such as belts and breechcloths, collars and breast medallions, ear, waist, and ankle ornaments). Footgear again is absent. Glyphlike symbols, such as the omnipresent U motif, are more abundant (and note that the earliest Zapotec writing system appears at Monte Alban).

In sequence, the discussion treats the last Danzante manifestations, then Olmecoid low relief, followed by Olmecoid full round, and finally the Monte Alto style (exclusively full round). All of these substyles are, in part, stylistically interrelated.

Danzante Substyle

To complete the Post-Olmec Danzante tradition, I want to discuss one more stela from Kaminaljuyu that came to light in 1962 (Stela 17; Figs. 50, 51). While this dynamic, linear, old-man image relates to the earlier "Danzante" Stela 9 at the same site (Fig. 5), this example shows more developed traits, and perhaps is better assigned to the 500–200 B.C. subphase. The unique feature here is the elaborate top-line design, with free-form, difficult-to-interpret pendent elements. This celestial band features opposing diagonal bars and a central trefoil glyphlike element that contains another diagonal bar with two dots. The symbol resembles ones in the headdress of the principal figure of Stela 2 at La Venta, and shows the persistence of primary Late Olmec protoglyphic signs. (Also see Fig. 74, for other early glyphic symbolism.) It also has a formal relationship to the headdress symbol on Stela 9 at Kaminaljuyu. The bearded figure with bent back has one hand on his spine while the other arm leans on a crooked staff. Unfortunately the bottom of the stela is missing, so we do not know whether he is unshod or standing on some terrestrial design, as is the case in Stela 9. The costume of Stela 17 is a two-part kilt topped by a bow knot and an expanded waistband. The old man wears a beaded necklace and beaded wristlets, as well as an earplug and an animal headdress. The split kilt is the same kind of garment worn by the cache figurine found with Stela 9 (Fig. 6) and one worn by a figure on Stela D at Tres Zapotes. The expanded belt has an analogue on the archaistic Stela 9 at Cerro de las Mesas (Stirling 1943: fig. 11a). However, these last two stelae probably belong to the Terminal Preclassic period.

The Danzante style is best known from some 300 carved wall panels dated to Phase I at Monte Alban, Oaxaca. The bulk of these have been securely dated to 500–150 B.C., thus conforming to this Post-Olmec epoch (Scott 1978: 12). The Monte Alban reliefs feature contorted, genitally mutilated, captives. They all have dynamic postures, with limbs akimbo or in "swimming" or "tumbling" positions (Fig. 7). Many examples retain the older technique of grooved incising that outlines their planar reliefs. In addition, isolated trophy heads are a regular theme. According to Scott (1978) some of the reliefs continue into the

early Terminal Preclassic period, contemporary with the Izapan-related "ball player" panels at nearby Dainzu (Bernal 1968). Associated with these "classical Danzantes" are proto-Zapotec hieroglyphs and bar-and-dot numerations. This is one of the oldest formalized writing systems to be preserved in stone inscriptions, although there are a few isolated earlier examples already mentioned from Alvarado and La Venta, as well as earlier inscriptions on portable stone celts. I have suggested a Peripheral Coastal lowland origin for this specialized art style in the Transition phase.

Olmecoid Low Relief

In the Post-Olmec "Olmecoid" low-relief category, there are a half-dozen examples at Kaminaljuyu, perhaps as many at Izapa, and a group of related stones in El Salvador. Monument 2 from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 52) introduces the style with a full-length profile of a dragon monster (caiman?) carved on two opposite sides of a shaft of columnar basalt. The verso of the side in the drawing slopes off at a 45° angle, with a mirror image of the same creature. This is perhaps the latest instance of utilizing a relatively unmodified basalt column as a medium for carving, and probably dates to 500 B.C.

Monument 2 was found in situ in the center of the Lower Plaza of the Palangana, no doubt placed there during its "monument plaza" revival. (See Lothrop 1926, and Maps 4 and 5 for its precise location on a platform in front of the "shrine-atrium".) In the 1920s, the sculpture was complete, with the tip of the tail intact (see Villacorta 1932: 110), showing immediately that this was not a double-headed monster as has been suggested (Lothrop 1926: 155). It is, in fact, an enormous and fantastic serpentine-crocodilian "dragon," with head at the left and tail at the right. The vertebral column is represented as a series of rounded rectangles following the ridge of the triangular basalt prism. In addition to replicating oblong scales and eyes, design elements are rendered in broad, concentric, flat relief. The serpentine head of the creature is of conventional early, relatively blocky, conformation with a voluted supraorbital element, outlined upper jaw and snout, and various effluvia issuing from the mouth. Attached to the back of the head is another (upside down) scroll-headed "demon" with scrolls flowing from the mouth. Then comes the bent front leg, infixed with a scrolled eye. In the center of the monument is a large oblong, scallop-edged belly motif (X-ray fashion?). Behind this is the creature's folded rear leg, with knobbed knee on the left and clawed foot on the right. At the crease of the upper and lower limb is another abstract, upside-down, profile dragon head. The tail is marked with crescents and dots. This is a rare example of a complete dragon-monster in Preclassic iconography which generally depicts only a profile head. It is also one of the clearest referents to the caiman in pre-Izapan Mesoamerican art, and certainly to a primary earth monster.

Stylistically related to Monument 2 is Stela 5 from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 53), with the same flat, broad-contoured relief and blocky profile dragon heads. The configuration depicts a right-facing, fat-featured human head surrounded by three differing profile dragons (for good drawings of these see Miles 1965: fig. 2b, c). The profile human head has a bulbous forehead overlapped by the thick tongue of a headdress dragon. Note the puffy cheek, eye, nose, and mouth (flaked on the right margin). A centrally placed, rounded-square earplug serves for both this face and a rear dragon. The plug is framed by bow knots and has a pendent trefoil that overlaps a basal dragon. The headdress dragon has a four-part supraorbital element, scrolled snout, fanged alveolum, and the aforementioned tongue. The rear profile dragon head faces left and manifests a pair of squared volutes above, and a down-turned snout tipped with two beads. The right-facing basal dragon has a scrolled brow and down-curving snout. All three dragons have similar noses perched on their snoutlike upper lips.

Another miniature slab, in planar relief (Stela

16, Kaminaljuyu; Fig. 54), duplicates some fundamental stylistic traits of Stela 5 as well as the following two panels. A stocky, fat-faced, human figure stands on a framed zig-zag base panel. The lower third of this stela is plain (see Stone [1972: 89] for a full view). His puffy visage matches that on Stela 5, and the bowed trefoil earplug is similar. He wears a tight-fitting cap with knotted band, from which projects a bent and beaded armature. Broad plain feathers emerge from the back and bustle. At the front of the belt is an elaborate apron ornament with a U motif at the top and bracketed double-scroll-and-bar at the bottom; this tassel anticipates a common motif in Terminal Preclassic Izapan iconography. In addition, the figure wears beaded wristlets and anklets, and above the visible knee is either a ligature or the outline of a kilt. Prominently placed in the front of the headdress is a profile "demon" with curved top piece, scrolled earplug, and triple volutes underneath. This image may well represent a trophy head. Moreover, another series of broad compound scrolls falls below to the full length of the standing figure who, in turn, gestures in this frontal direction amidst the mass of scrolls. The figure on Stela 16 also has definite proto-Arenal stylistic features, that do not become well established until the early Terminal Preclassic.

From Kaminaljuyu, both "Stela" 19 (Fig. 55) and its incomplete mate, "Stela" 4 (Fig. 56), are squared slabs that probably functioned as architectural wall panels rather than free-standing reliefs, though none of this class has been found in situ at that site. Their flat relief, broad and evenly rounded scrolls, and profile dragon heads are replicated elsewhere in Post-Olmec art.

Stela 19 depicts a half-kneeling, dragon-masked figure whose arms grapple with a tightly coiled serpent that issues from the base of an upside-down trophy-head demon to the right. The image is of the scroll-eyed variety, with further scrolls at the neck area; spilling from the top of its head are long trefoil volutes. The coiled serpent that frames the composition ends in a realistic serpent head on the left. This serpent head has both mouth scrolls and a long triple-voluted spiral motif below it. These various coil and trefoil elements, as well as other symbolic motifs on the panel, probably have combined serpent-blood-water connotations associated with an early trophy-head cult. The anthropomorphic figure has clawed animal feet and a knobbed right elbow, also seen on Monument 2 and Stela 4. The elaborate monster mask of Stela 19 faces upward and is adorned with a hooked cap, three sinuous elements behind, and a seven-part "false beard." The double-voluted earplugs and cheek markings on both this and the trophy head are identical to those on the monster-masked boulder, Monument 3 at Monte Alto (cf. Fig. 72), which in itself may connote a trophy head. A symbolic breast panel hangs from a plain collar in the center. Its voluted tripartite tassel is analogous to an incised symbol on a contemporary Providencia phase bowl at Kaminaljuyu (Miles 1965: fig. 6a). To the left of this we find a double waistband with a knotted serpent underneath. Leg ligatures are found above the knees. The creature's ankles also have serpent ties, and there are bows on both wrists. The lower legs and arm and cap have emblematic (shell?) patches with infixed diagonal bars. Hanging from the back of the figure is a hooked cape.

"Stela" 4 (Fig. 56) bears a parallel composition, though the upper portion is missing. This anthropomorphic figure, with the same clawed feet, is in a more dynamic "dancing" posture and not only has a knobbed elbow (observe the base of the arm in the upper right) but knobbed knees. It has a virtually identical breast panel, with a dentate tassel on the curved collar. The hooked cape and belt with serpent knot are also the same as Stela 19. The leg patches, however, are plain, and the anklets are beaded. Facing inward on the right margin is another profile trophy-head "demon" with long tripartite scrolls sprouting from the base. It is scroll-eyed, with a hooked cap and double-voluted earplug. This composition has more profuse broad, tightly rounded, compound scrolls than Stela 19, here filling the space between the legs and framing the left margin of the figure.

Unfortunately we do not know what the upraised arms are "doing."

The last Olmecoid low relief from Kaminaljuyu is the fragmentary Monument 1 (Fig. 57)—a sculpture that might be classed as full round, save for its emphasis on flat carved profiles. The extant subject is a blocky serpentine dragon head carved on both sides and resting on an expanded rectangular base. The opposite face is a mirror image, though less of it is preserved due to the sloping break in the stone above the head. (See Lothrop [1926: fig. 46c] for a view of the opposite side and of the whole broken base.) Owing to the relative massiveness of the plain base, one may assume that a sizable amount of the original sculpture is missing above the serpent head. The rendering of the head resembles Monument 2 and the top dragon on Stela 5. Note the squared scroll at the front of the mouth and the fact that a once-projecting snout is missing from the upper left. The concept of this sculpture type derives from transitional full-round pedestal sculptures and also relates to the peg-based silhouetted reliefs common to the Terminal Preclassic, although the latter are carved only on one side. This indented relief sculpture was meant to be viewed on both faces.

However, one example of the true silhouetted-relief category stylistically resembles the above Olmecoid carvings from Kaminaljuyu, and therefore can tentatively be placed in the Post-Olmec era. This sculpture (Fig. 58) came from the vicinity of Bilbao, Escuintla, on the Pacific slopes. The marginally indented, perforated, peg-based form is characteristic of this type of sculpture. Here a stocky human figure grasps a double-headed serpent, and, furthermore, stands on the bottom head. The serpent is banded and has tripartite brow elements as well as heavy suborbital plaques on both of its heads. The figure's fat-featured face and body type resemble Stela 16 (Fig. 54), while the scrolls on the left margin are similar to those on Stela 4 (Fig. 56). He wears a beaded necklace as well as beaded wristlets and anklets; also note the waistband and loincloth apron.

Other Olmecoid low reliefs on the Pacific Coastal lowlands may be assigned to the 500–200 B.C. sculpture division. One small carving from Tonala, in western Chiapas (Petroglyph 1; Ferdon 1953: pl. 23b), is a stylized feline face with deeply indented circular eyes and similar indentations about the fanged mouth. These features most closely resemble the face on an aberrant large Olmecoid boulder head from Medias Aguas across the Isthmus on the Gulf Coast (de la Fuente 1973: no. 214; Medellin 1960b: pls. 4, 5).

Although it has been tempting to group all of the many Izapan low-relief stelae within the several centuries of the Terminal Preclassic, this exercise may not be precisely realistic, just as not all of the Kaminaljuyu reliefs are of the Miraflores-Arenal epoch. While detailed analysis of the whole corpus of Izapa reliefs from the type site is beyond the scope of this volume (and these works have been amply discussed by other researchers such as Miles, Quirarte, Norman, and, most recently, Lowe and Smith; see p. 8 for complete citations), the broad stylistic groupings for this important southern sculptural development are immediately relevant, since this material relates to parallel manifestations at Kaminaljuyu (see Table 3). The first cluster, including associated zoomorphic altars at Izapa, has Olmecoid traits and may have been carved prior to 200 B.C. Of course, the largest group of narrative reliefs surely is early Terminal Preclassic, while the remainder of highly evolved Izapan stelae may belong to the Protoclassic. Lowe, Lee, and Martínez 1982: 23) allow that the outside limits of stone carving at Izapa may fall somewhat prior to 300 B.C., but certainly terminate by A.D. 100. They assign the majority to the Guillen phase, 300–50 B.C. We do not argue with these general parameters for the corpus of relief sculpture at Izapa.

Six low reliefs at Izapa may be considered Olmecoid with their broad flat reliefs, blocky outlines, and so forth. They are, in order of our brief discussion: Stelae 19, 20, 28, 3, 11, and 6 (see Norman 1973, for reference to excellent photos and drawings of each). Stelae 19 and 20 are a pair,

solely demonstrating bold geometric scroll-and-tassel emblems. These relate to the apron tassel on Kaminaljuyu Stela 16. Stela 28 at Izapa has a similar scroll-and-bar element in the top line and features a very broad and simple insect image in the center. Stela 3 is the more complex "St. George and the Dragon" subject, with simple diagonal bar-and-U top-line motif. Its profile dragon traits, tassel designs, and compact blocky style seem more Olmecoid than developed Izapan. Stela 11 features another knob-kneed "demon" at the bottom (Miles 1965: fig. 4c), resting on a U-shaped double-headed dragon. Above these images is one of the most visually unequivocal diving deities (bearded), culminating at the top in an abstract celestial band. Unlike Smith (1984: 27), I do not see this winged figure "standing behind or emerging from" the demon's mouth; I view the apparent connecting line, rather, as the demon's tongue. More tentatively, we may include Stela 6 with its fat toad monster and clawed feet, similar to Stelae 4 and 19 at Kaminaljuyu. Even without detailed comparative discussion for this group, the present classification is based on the most obvious stylistic seriation, and strengthens the conclusion of probable local Post-Olmec roots of the specialized Izapan narrative style.

Finally, there is a group of Olmecoid reliefs in El Salvador that may be suggested for the Post-Olmec-Izapan stylistic boundary c. 200 B.C. The first example is far afield, at the site of Quelepa in eastern El Salvador (Andrews 1976: fig. 183). This is an enormous rectangular altar or basin, with framed low-relief carvings on the sides. The relief is broad and planar and highlights a central disk with full-front jaguar face, flanked by outward-facing profile dragon monsters with Olmecoid style scrolls. The scallop-edged disk recalls the belly motif on Kaminaljuyu Monument 2. Further, its feline face is analogous to a whole group of stones in western El Salvador, clustering around Cara Sucia on the coast.

Some of the latter are low-relief, disklike "altars" and others are somewhat more full-round renditions (see Richardson 1940: figs. 33 and 34, for drawings of eight of them). While the style of these full-front feline monsters is late Olmecoid, details of their motifs are also directly comparable to Post-Olmec full-round sculptures, such as the feline-masked Monument 3 at Monte Alto (Fig. 72) and some of the contemporary zoomorphic altars to be described below. Salient features of these "disk-jaguars" include blunt snouts, forehead scrolls, circular or rounded-rectangle eyes, and eye plaques. Evidence for their absolute dating comes from nearby Santa Leticia (Demarest, Switsur, and Burger 1982). At that essentially one-phase site (fifth century to second century B.C.), two such disk-jaguars were discovered in the upper levels. At the same site are three large Monte Alto style human effigy boulder sculptures (Fig. 113). Demarest therefore concluded correctly that these two styles overlapped in time.

On the Mexican Gulf Coast there is no confirmed evidence of late Post-Olmec low-relief sculpture (although there is full-round sculpture), implying that the focus of a low-relief tradition had shifted to the Southern Maya area. Stelae A and D at Tres Zapotes (Stirling 1943: figs. 3, 4) have been problematical to assign stylistically for most investigators (including myself), and have been designated as anything from Late Olmec to early Izapan. Although both carvings have archaistic features, I now place them in the later chronological phase.

Olmecoid Full Round

Most Division III full-round sculpture of the 500–200 B.C. period is of the "engaged relief" type. If, as may be expected, certain features also relate stylistically to the low-relief production of the same period, full-round sculpture has distinctive traits. The subject matter consists mainly of seated or rampant anthropomorphic feline monsters and grotesque feline masks, with eyes usually delineated as rounded rectangles. Included in the forms are rigid, seated human figures with hands on knees, and flat bases and backs. It may be significant to note in retrospect that the backs of

the Gulf Coast colossal stone heads invariably were artificially flattened. Glyphlike symbols, eye plaques, medallions, and disks on torsos are regular additive elements. Various zoomorphic altars and boulder sculptures in the style also occur, some with circular eyes. (The specialized Monte Alto style of boulder sculpture will be treated apart.) On all of the above, limbs and ornaments are carved in rounded or flattened relief engaged to the surfaces of bulky monuments. Not only are the examples from Kaminaljuyu representative of most of the range of variation, but at this time, moreover, Kaminaljuyu was one of the most important sites in the central southern region, and seems to have been the focus of regional creativity in sculpture.

Seated human sculptures evolve from the traditions of the Late Olmec and Transition. The first monument to be described here was recently found by the Kaminaljuyu Project at the site of Solano, only nine kilometers south of the Kaminaljuyu center, and within the cultural sphere of that site (information from copy of computer print-out, courtesy of William Sanders). This headless sculpture (Fig. 59) represents a seated, cross-legged, stiff figure with hands on the knees. It has a beaded belt on the front and a corresponding groove divides the lower and upper body on the straight back. A small sculpture, purportedly from Kaminaljuyu (Monument 60; Fig. 60), has the same flat base and back, with dividing groove. It is a blocky, compact, fat figure seated in the hands-on-knees posture, though the presumed folded legs at the base have been flaked off. The nose and snout area have been effaced, and the sagittal crest is damaged. The rectilinear sagging breasts are reminiscent of the treatment on a local peg-based sculpture (Fig. 37), and the platform base resembles Monument 21 at La Venta (Milbrath 1979: fig. 27); both monuments are from the prior Transition phase. The hooded head of Monument 60 has a feline aspect to the mouth (note the "fanged" corners, expanded upper gum, and single tooth), and scrolls curl back from the forehead. The last trait is also prominent on Monument 3 at Monte Alto, and other Post-Olmec sculptures.

Two unusual Olmecoid "monster" sculptures were found several meters apart, facing west, on a low stone-lined adobe platform ten meters square, just north of Mound C-III-2 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 61, Map 4; Espinosa 1960). These are still in situ at the site under a modern shelter south of the Palangana complex. Monument 42 (Figs. 62, 63) is a boulder sculpture, with an unworked back; the carving follows the contours of the stone, representing an anthropomorphic figure. This may well be earlier, in the 500–200 B.C. range, while its companion, Monument 43, may be later in the Post-Olmec division. On Monument 42, a monster head is shown in left profile with its prodigious "snout" projecting to the side. (Identical snouts—actually upper lip extensions—will be seen on Altar 12 at the site [Fig. 67], as well as on the *piedra santa* at Palo Gordo on the coast [Fig. 74].) The eye is a rounded rectangle, as are the double earplugs with scrolls. Note the eye-ear line, a trait observed for possibly earlier pedestal sculptures and mushroom stones, though these examples could well overlap in time. Although the top of the head is damaged, there may have been a forehead scroll. A single tooth is shown under the heavy upper lip. The right arm is drawn up with the hand touching the shoulder, the left arm is folded across the torso, and the legs seem to be tucked in at the bottom. The figure wears beaded bracelets and the left arm has a cuff. Further, a braided realistic serpent with forked tongue depends from a wide plain collar.

In juxtaposition is Monument 43 (Figs. 64 and 65), a blocky, full-round, crouching feline monster whose rounded and outlined mouth scrolls resemble those of the early Terminal Preclassic Arenal style. However, its in situ position near Monument 42, and particular stylistic features, permit us to discuss it here. The head demonstrates rounded-rectangle eyes, a human nose, and mustachelike, down-turned upper lip. From this falls a large double-scrolled and tabbed tongue that is analogous to breast medallions on a

pair of miniature potbelly sculptures at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 102). Issuing from the corners of the mouth are a pair of evenly rounded scrolls; curving volutes extend from the cheeks, and forehead scrolls also may be present. The top of the head is indented. Blocky scrolled earplugs and flanges flank the head. The crouching body carries a fringed mantle.

Monument 44 (Fig. 66) was also excavated by Espinosa in the same locale, but was not left in situ, and may or may not be of the same period. Being only a fragment of a bulky full-round sculpture, it is very difficult to classify stylistically. All that is visible in surface carving is a bow knot on the right, several vertical stripes, and a wide central band with mat motif and zig-zag borders. The nature of the original sculpture cannot be determined; it is illustrated in the event that more of it may be found in the future.

Unfortunately, the ceramics from this important excavation were never reported, so we are left with stylistic analysis for the only two sculptures still in situ at Kaminaljuyu. However, the supporting platform should be re-excavated for the chronological information it can provide. (It is not even certain whether the two stone drain troughs, Monuments 45 and 46, discussed above were actually found here; they were deposited on the outer edge of this excavation when I first visited the site in January 1962.)

A sizable zoomorphic "altar" (Altar 12; Fig. 67), in association with a late assemblage of ten other Preclassic stone monuments, was excavated in the upper levels of the Lower Plaza at the Palangana, by the Kaminaljuyu Project. It faced south on the centerline of the atrium compound, ten meters north of the former location of Olmecoid Monument 2 (Map 5). This reptilian earth monster is depicted with the same projecting down-turned "snout" as Monument 42. Not clear in the photo are the broad nose, rounded-rectangular eyes, and rounded supraorbital bulges on the head above the snout. The bent forelegs have heavy expanded shoulders, a trait recalling the Transition phase. The hind legs are doubled up around the rear. This zoomorphic sculpture relates to ones on the Pacific Coast to be described shortly, and is a precursor of the Miraflores toad altars at Kaminaljuyu.

Finally, there is a group of four contemporaneous anthropomorphic Olmecoid "boulder" sculptures at Kaminaljuyu. Their engaged relief, wrap-around limbs, and bulky torsos (but not their heads) parallel the full-round Monte Alto potbelly sculptures. All of them have nearly circular eyes and disk-shaped medallions on their breasts. A concave disk, broken from such a sculpture, was excavated in the miscellaneous fill of a Terminal Preclassic mound at Kaminaljuyu (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: 243; Shook 1971: 75), suggesting a probable *pre*-Verbena-Arenal date for the original sculpture from which the fragment came. (It is worth noting that in 1946 the material they called "Miraflores" also subsumed the presently defined Providencia phase.)

Monument 5 (Fig. 68) was in place at the south margin of the Palangana Lower Plaza (Lothrop 1926) in a row with the two "potbelly" Monuments 3 and 4 (Map 4). It has a deeply indented feline mouth and round outlined eyes (the top of the head is sheared off). The treatment of the mouth and nose area is remarkably similar to that on the non-Olmec stone head from Medias Aguas, Veracruz, as well as Petroglyph 1 from Tonala, Chiapas, both mentioned above. The figure wears a wide plain collar and its engaged bent arms hold a disk medallion that is attached to the collar by a wide band. The legs are pulled around the base, and the back of the sculpture is flattened.

Monument 15, Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 69), has a round turret-shaped head on a domed rotund body, indented rounded eyes, and ovoid mouth with a circular pit at its right corner. A recessed neckline suggests an encompassing helmet over the head with its banded turban. The right arm holds a knobbed bonelike wand, and the legs are wrapped around the bottom. There are also knotted arm and wrist ornaments. A kind of low-relief chasuble is draped over the neck and shoulders, with a large plain disk on the front and

a (damaged) shieldlike emblem with knotted bow on the back (see the next matching monument for this motif). Monument 11 (Fig. 70) is a headless mate to Monument 15, and apparently was found at the western edge of Kaminaljuyu at the entrance to former Finca La Majada. I have illustrated a rear view showing the undamaged shield emblem on the back of its "chasuble." All its extant features are identical to those of Monument 15.

The small, crude, boulder sculpture, Monument 9 (Fig. 71), shares with the above group vestiges of wrap-around limbs, torso disk, indented circular eyes, plus a rounded-rectangle mouth. The top of the head is missing. Monument 9 was first reported at the southeastern margin of Kaminaljuyu, along with potbelly Monument 8, near the modern *Trebol* intersection (Lothrop 1926).

We begin our survey of a large and varied group of related Post-Olmec (500–200 B.C.) full-round sculptures on the Pacific Coast with Monument 3 at Monte Alto, Escuintla (Fig. 72). This was found on the eastern boundary of the mound group in a lineup of other boulder sculptures (Map 6). It is an aberrant sculpture at that site in that it is manifestly in the Olmecoid tradition rather than the fat-faced Monte Alto style per se. It is a feline monster-masked head, carved on a boulder (the back is unshaped), that resembles other Post-Olmec anthropomorphic feline heads and profile dragons in iconographic detail. It also foreshadows Terminal Preclassic monster-masked heads (cf. Miraflores Monuments 16–18 at Kaminaljuyu, Figs. 125–128), as well as the later widespread architectural masks in the Maya lowlands. Carved in relatively high relief are the familiar "fanged" jaguar mouth, the central blocky projecting upper lip with nostrils above, rounded-rectangle eyes, volutes leading off both sides of the forehead, double-scrolled earplugs, and double scrolls on both cheeks.

Monument 2 at Cerro de las Mesas (Fig. 73) serves both for direct Post-Olmec comparison, and as an indication of further southern sculptural influence on the Gulf Coast. This large feline-masked head is flat-backed (which, in turn, was recarved in low relief, with a possible glyph column, perhaps in Izapan times; cf. Stirling 1943: pl. 27b). Note the blocky side fang (or mouth corner), blunt projecting upper lip underneath a humanoid nose, and rounded rectangular eye surmounted by a plaque, as well as the scrolled earplug. "Tearbands" course from the eye, and other details are outline-incised; both outline incising and eye plaques occur also in some of the Pacific Coast sculptures below (cf. Fig. 80). The forehead ornament is a trefoil recalling both Olmec motifs and early versions of the Zapotec Glyph C.

Also, in western El Salvador, some of the "disk-jaguar" sculptures already mentioned in the low-relief discussion, especially the more full-round ones, resemble in concept Monte Alto Monument 3. However, they have some regional idiosyncracies such as asymmetrical faces, protruding tongues, and extensive grooved detailing. One little-known El Salvador full-round head, about 90 cm in height (Fidias Jiménez 1957), has a deeply grooved visage that relates not only to some coastal sculptures to the west but also, curiously, to the Medias Aguas head in southern Veracruz (de la Fuente 1973: no. 214).

A remarkable monumental Olmecoid sculpture photographed by Robert Burkitt (an archaeologist who did early field work for the University Museum, Philadelphia) over fifty years ago (Fig. 75), is located at Palo Gordo, Suchitepequez, on the Pacific slopes. It was later published by Franz Termer (1942, 1963, 1973) who excavated at the site. To this day, the in situ sculpture is worshipped by migrant highland Maya Indians as the local *piedra santa,* and consequently is now smoke blackened and covered with candle wax. Although mentioned by Miles (1965: 246), its iconographic significance has not been fully appreciated. Carved of granite, rather than the more prevailing andesite or volcanic basalt, it is basically well preserved. Interestingly, some of the finest and most important extant Preclassic monuments (Stela 11 at Kaminaljuyu and Monument [stela] 42

at Bilbao) are carved from this difficult-to-procure hard granite.

The *piedra santa* is an heroic-sized, flat-backed and flat-based sculpture representing a seated, anthropomorphic, feline monster, with hands resting on the knees in the manner of the headless Solano figure and Monument 60 at Kaminaljuyu (Figs. 59, 60). The feet are turned to the centerline, the loincloth apron(?), and armbands emphasize the heavy shoulders. The monster head has flat forehead scrolls on the sides above spooled ears. There is a huge projecting upper lip or snout (note in front view that the real nose and nostrils are perched above this "proboscis").[5] For comparison see Monument 42 and Altar 12 at Kaminaljuyu (Figs. 62, 67), as well as the previous Monte Alto head. The rounded-rectangle eyes are bracketed by outlined plaques, as at Cerro de las Mesas, and also on a zoomorphic altar at Izapa (Fig. 80). Below the drooping ovoid mouth, and under the pendent "upper lip," emerge a pair of twisted serpents that trail off to each side. This motif has its prototype in the seated Olmec feline from Los Soldados, Veracruz (de la Fuente 1973: no. 162), where a pair of twisted elements drop from the mouth. A braided serpent also hangs from the collar of Kaminaljuyu Monument 42.

The Palo Gordo monument also bears several symbols that carry over from Late Olmec iconography. Carved on the flattened back of the head is a "feathered" square shield emblem (Figs. 74, 75) enclosing the ubiquitous Preclassic U motif. It is surrounded by what may be considered imbricated U forms as well. In low relief on the front torso, below a plain collar, are a series of three stacked symbols, with the U motif featured in the horizontal "belt." Resting above this, in the navel area, is a crenulated motif already noted on the belt of the Chalcatzingo seated figure (Fig. 28). (This also occurs on the Humboldt celt; see Joralemon 1971: motif 159, for this symbol in Olmec art.) Falling from the collar is a *Tau*-shaped medallion with five water-drop elements. A pectoral on the left figure of La Venta Stela 3 is comparable to this, as is a Monte Alban Danzante glyph (Paddock 1966: fig. 36, lower left). All three of these examples have five pendent water drops. Does this trinity of symbols on the Palo Gordo monster connote sky (*Tau*-with-water), earth (crenulated "vegetation"), and underworld (U-shaped "earth bowl")? If so, we have a simple glyphic statement in Post-Olmec times on the southern coast. The shield emblem on the back of the head may express the same "statement" in one sign, showing the cosmos in "plan" view.

Two large full-round Olmecoid sculptures, discovered by Francis B. Richardson in 1938 at a place called La Flora, south of Monte Alto, could not be relocated by Ed Shook and myself on a one-day's search in 1970, even though we had with us a copy of Richardson's original field notes (see Richardson 1940: pl. 19c, for an additional view of the following). The first (Fig. 76), is a feline-faced anthropomorphic monument with flat back and elaborate engaged planar relief. The head is hooded, and scored at the sides. The bent arms hold a grooved pad at the midriff, and the legs fold around the base. An ovoid medallion on the broad bib has three pendent hooked elements reminiscent of the Palo Gordo medallion. The hood and aspects of the fanged face relate to Kaminaljuyu's Monument 60 (Fig. 60). Below the ears are puffy punctated pendants. The second sculpture from La Flora (Fig. 77) is probably about the same size. It depicts an eroded monster head with rounded rectangular eyes and feline mouth. It rests on a cylindrical base about twice the length of the head. (The four photographs of these by Richardson are the only record we have until the monuments are rediscovered.)

In 1969, I discovered a comparable eroded full-round monster head sculpture at Finca Santa

[5] This projection had been broken off the Palo Gordo *piedra santa* even before Burkitt's time and reattached by a *finca* administrator. It was cemented in place when I first saw the monument in 1962, but today it is again missing. The Burkitt photo (Fig. 75), however, shows the snout in place. Termer (personal communication, 1967) had good reason to believe that the replaced snout was not the original one, though comparative evidence convinces me that the snout in the Burkitt photo, or one very much like it, must have belonged to this sculpture.

Clara on the coast in the Department of Santa Rosa (Fig. 78). It has a down-turned feline mouth with fangs, a tongue or "bib," projecting upper lip and nose, and the standard Post-Olmec eye form. Then, in 1970, we found a full-round rampant jaguar sculpture at Finca Hamburgo, Suchitepequez (Fig. 79), which may be placed in this general group of Post-Olmec monuments. The jaguar's paws are poised upward, while its legs crouch at the base. The head is perfectly feline and the eyes are ovoid as on Monument 5 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 68). The style of this can readily be distinguished from the earlier rampant jaguar from Izapa (Fig. 22) and the later one from El Baul (Fig. 138).

El Balsamo, Escuintla (see Map 2 for the precise location of these coastal sites), is a Middle and Late Preclassic site with one "sin cabezas"-derived sculpture already mentioned, and the following two Post-Olmec sculptures (as well as plain stelae). The first is a small angular, but realistic, full-round jaguar sculpture in a seated position with flexed legs, and scrolls behind its shoulders (Shook and Hatch 1978: fig. 2e). Its posture resembles that of some animals on vertical pedestal sculptures as well as some of the far-flung Olmecoid monuments—from Guerrero, Mexico, to Copan, Honduras—that will be cited at the end of this section. In addition, there is a very eroded zoomorphic altar (Shook and Hatch 1978: fig. 3a) with inverted U-shaped mouth and circular pits for eyes, a feature we have seen in other Post-Olmec sculptures.

Proceeding generally from west to east on the Pacific Coast, we complete our discussion of southern Olmecoid full-round sculptures with a series of altarlike and boulder zoomorphs, which represent reptiles or toads, but may have feline characteristics as well. From Tonala (Ferdon 1953: pl. 22f), there is a flat altar showing a reptile with plaqued eyes and low-relief bent limbs on the top. In addition, there is one more Olmecoid stone from Tonala (Monument 5; Ferdon 1953: pl. 20e), a small boulder head with a trefoil falling from a heavy upper lip. The head has a sagittal crest, like potbelly Monument 47 at Bilbao (Fig. 108) and the "duck-billed" Monument 5 across the Isthmus at Cerro de las Mesas (Stirling 1943: fig. 14, center). Both these unusual boulder sculptures from Tonala and Cerro de las Mesas, however, could well belong to the earlier Transition phase. The poorly analyzed site of Tonala also has Middle Preclassic period sculpture, indeterminate plain stelae and altars, Izapan period sculpture, and even Cotzumalhuapan style monuments (the last were identified in a previous monograph [Parsons 1969]).

The site of Izapa also has zoomorphic altars belonging stylistically to the period under discussion. Altar 1 (Fig. 80) was found in front of the Terminal Preclassic Stela 1, but could have been moved there from some previous context. It has tightly flexed reptilian legs, a toothy feline mouth, squared nose scrolls, divided rounded-rectangle eyes, supraorbital eye plaques, and blocky down-turned corners to the mouth. The mouth and the eye plaques are groove-outlined and resemble Monument 2 at Cerro de las Mesas (Fig. 73). Altar 2 at Izapa (Fig. 81) is singularly a toad. Besides its engaged amphibian limbs it has a broad toothless mouth, scrolled nostrils, and perfectly circular eyes, each contained by a plaque in the form of a "question mark," with the lower end curving around the mouth. This was found in situ in front of Stela 3, which may be its original context, especially if, as suggested, Stela 3 is also Post-Olmec in style. If so, this is the earliest instance of a "stela" being paired with an "altar"—a trait complex not customary until the Terminal Preclassic Izapan period. Other probable Olmecoid zoomorphic altars at Izapa are numbers 16, 53, and 54 (Norman 1976: 245–248). Altar 54, with its split eyes and scrolled plaques, is particularly like the Sabana Grande toad boulder (Fig. 83).

Across the Guatemalan border at Abaj Takalik there is another reptilian altar with basin (Fig. 82). Its broad blocky relief confirms a Post-Olmec assignment, while the deep basin in its back predates the Miraflores toad-altar convention at Kaminaljuyu. This photograph shows a gathering of monuments near the hacienda of San Isidro

Piedra Parada, with another Olmecoid seated figure displayed on the flat head of the altar. Additional small Olmecoid sculptures at the extremely rich site of Abaj Takalik await full description and publication by John Graham.

A spectacular zoomorphic sculpture from the site of Sabana Grande in eastern Escuintla (Fig. 83), long known but seldom mentioned in the literature, may now be assigned to its stylistic niche. The monument has both toad and feline aspects. Note the broadly framed and toothy mouth, segmented circular eye, and wide crescent-shaped supraorbital plaque with trailing rounded scroll—all in flat relief. These traits are shared by zoomorphic altars at Izapa and other Olmecoid monuments. The domed boulder sculpture (the buried base is unshaped) also has a projecting dewlap under the chin. Quite similar is a dome-shaped reptilian boulder, published by Navarrete (1967: fig. 7) 90 cm in height, from Cintalapa in the western highlands of Chiapas. That creature also has circular eyes and rounded eye plaques with scrolls behind. Finally, Monument 5 from El Trapiche, near Chalchuapa, El Salvador (Sharer 1978, 1: 171), is a rectangular altar with shallow basin that relates to the above group on the coast. On the sides are folded reptile limbs, and on the front is a feline face with round eyes and scrolled plaques. This face, in addition, resembles the local "disk-jaguar" sculptures already discussed.

For general comparisons it is worth mentioning two crouching zoomorphic "altars" that every visitor to the new Mexican National Museum has seen through the windows on the portico of the Gulf Coast room (Fig. 84). They both came to the museum in 1913 with no more precise provenience than "Veracruz." However, the outlined and scrolled eye plaques and mouth surrounds on these feline-reptilian monuments relate more to our Post-Olmec sculptures on the south coast than to the later Classic Veracruz style, and therefore may be tentatively placed in this period.

Additional full-round Olmecoid sculptures from more distant regions show Post-Olmec affiliation with the Southern Pacific Coast and highlands. Some examples from the Central Maya lowlands are as much related to the contemporary Monte Alto substyle as they are to the Olmecoid corpus just reviewed. Two aberrant monuments may be noted in Oaxaca, in addition to the regionally specialized Danzante slabs. The tall conical stone from Huamelulpan in northern Oaxaca (Paddock 1966: fig 2), with its Olmecoid mouth and flat, folded arms is already well known. In the archives of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, there is a photograph, taken by Teobert Maler on an 1874 journey from Acapulco to Tehuantepec, of a large sculpture (Fig. 85). It was located near Tututepec on the Pacific Coast of Oaxaca, half-way between the above towns—still a relatively unexplored region. The bulky standing human figure has angular flat relief and an Olmecoid face with ovoid eyes. Near Ometepec, not far away in southeastern Guerrero, there is a headless crouching jaguar sculpture (Fig. 86) with segmented collar, tail, raindrop motifs, and ankle fringes. Its posture is identical to the small stone jaguar mentioned from El Balsamo, as well as sculptures from Copan, Honduras (Figs. 87, 88). Moreover, there is a crouching jaguar sculpture, 97 cm in height, from Papalhuapa in the eastern Guatemalan highlands, but not far from Copan or the upper Motagua Valley (Graham and Heizer 1968: pl. 2). This has the same seated-on-haunches posture as the former, plus an intact jaguar head. Although eroded, it resembles the El Balsamo example.

At the Classic Maya site of Copan, three related Preclassic sculptures were found, two of them under archaeological control. A headless crouching jaguar (Fig. 87) was excavated by Erwin Dieseldorff and Alfred Maudslay in the fill around the base of Stela 5. Its segmented collar and details of relief doubtless fit the group under discussion. Another similar sculpture (Fig. 88), with eroded head, is still in the regional museum at Copan, but its find spot is not recorded. (Robicsek 1970: pl. 82, published the same full-round sculpture incorrectly as the "Stele 5" jaguar.) The last Copan example (Fig. 89) is perhaps more in the Monte

Alto potbelly tradition, though it is headless and has unusually elaborate surface decoration (see Richardson 1940: fig 37, for three drawings of this). It was discovered by Dieseldorff in the late nineteenth century in a foundation cache under Stela 4 in the monument plaza at Copan. (See Stromsvik 1942, for documentation of these substela caches.) This fat figure, with wrap-around arms, wears a segmented collar, rounded plume-like motifs, a bustle, and a keyhole-shaped medallion. Two other sculptures in western Honduras may be of the same period. At La Florida, near Copan, a full-round kneeling sculpture with "alter-ego" animal on its back was found, illustrated by Richardson (1940: fig. 35c). And at Los Naranjos, on Lake Yojoa, there is a serpent-head sculpture, 80 cm in length, with Olmecoid characteristics (Strong, Kidder, and Paul 1938: pl. 16, no. 2). A couple more Olmecoid stone sculptures have been found in that vicinity (see Baudez and Becquelim 1973), but I have not yet seen them.

At Tikal, in the very center of the Maya lowlands, the earliest stone sculptures reflect the coastal Monte Alto potbelly tradition. In Cauac fill (the phase begins at 100 B.C.), a broken, headless, miniature, potbelly sculpture, 24 cm in height, was found (W. R. Coe 1965b: fig. 18); but of course the fragment could well be older. More recently, another such full-size sculpture (complete, but very eroded) turned up at Tikal (Fig. 90). The upper arms have ligatures, and on the back is a medallion with an inner serrated edge. It is probable that Miscellaneous Stone 54 at Tikal (W. R. Coe 1965a: 14), from the late Chuen phase (300–100 B.C.), with its Olmecoid rounded-rectangle eye, is another Post-Olmec manifestation at the site. Coe considered it the oldest stone sculpture fragment at Tikal.

Returning briefly to the Gulf Coast, we have mentioned several southern-related, Post-Olmec sculptures including two zoomorphs (Fig. 84), Monument 2 at Cerro de las Mesas (Fig. 73), and possibly the duck-billed Monument 5 at the same site (Stirling 1943: pl. 28). Conceivably Monument 1 there (Stirling 1943: pl. 29) is contemporary, but it could be a later archaism. The head from Medias Aguas, Veracruz (de la Fuente 1973: no. 214; Medellin 1960b: pls. 4, 5) is certainly in this tradition. Moreover, a few Gulf Coastal potbelly sculptures will be listed in the following section. Clearly, however, monumental sculpture on the Gulf Coast, unlike the Pacific Coast, was diminishing at this time, to be renewed again, in low relief, in the Izapan period at Tres Zapotes and other sites.

Monte Alto Substyle (Full-round Potbelly Sculptures)

The Monte Alto style is one of the easiest to discern and to define of all the regional Preclassic manifestations, but has been one of the most elusive to pinpoint in time and cultural relationship because of its provincial, modified "baby-face" appearance, its relative crudity of execution, and its occasional truly monumental scale. There are three variants in full-round sculptures: relatively small potbellies, massive human-effigy boulder sculptures, and colossal boulder heads. All variants are essentially boulder sculptures, though some of the smaller ones are worked on all sides, often flat-backed, and relate more closely to some of the Olmecoid monuments already discussed. Although I was previously reluctant to suggest a chronological seriation, it has become evident through comparative evidence that the smaller potbelly sculptures are generally earlier and the larger Monte Alto boulder effigies and heads—those found at the "type site"—are generally somewhat later. Their carved features tend to follow the contours of natural volcanic boulders (many of these are still strewn over the alluvial plain), while the bottoms and backs are not worked at all. It appears that the style first evolved on the coast of Guatemala, then became established at Kaminaljuyu, and ultimately reached its extreme expression at Monte Alto itself.

The maximum time range for the Monte Alto style could be 500 years (c. 600–100 B.C.), although most of it is bracketed in our Post-Olmec 500–200 B.C. period. The style is relatively consistent: fat neckless human figures with wrap-

around limbs, the soles of the feet almost touching, and the arms clasping the belly, duplicating the engaged relief of other Olmecoid sculptures. Bald heads usually have puffy closed eyes and inverted V-shaped grooves separating fat cheeks from wide noses and thick lips. Variations from this pattern borrow from contemporary Olmecoid canons. Limited surface adornment consists of earplugs and collars, plus occasional medallions, demarcated navels, sagittal crests, or loincloths. The colossal heads mirror the facial features of the large effigy boulder sculptures. A representative sample of all of these from the coast and highlands will be illustrated, including the dozen potbelly sculptures from Kaminaljuyu (twenty-five percent of the known total in the entire area), and the complete Monte Alto group. (See Table 6 for a complete distribution of the smaller potbelly class, four dozen in total.)

It is now untenable to consider the style proto-Olmec, and equally untenable to contemplate its having lasted uninterrupted to the Middle Classic Teotihuacan period, even though the broken head from one of them was displayed on an Esperanza mound at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 101), and others were resurrected in Late Classic monument plazas. We have two choices for dating—Post-Olmec or Terminal Preclassic—and I believe the preponderance of evidence favors Post-Olmec as the principal period of production at the onset of the Late Preclassic. Miles (1965) was the first to argue for very early Middle Preclassic dating, based upon a handful of surface sherds at Monte Alto and the general stylistic crudeness in stone carving—the only substantive clues available at the time of her research. As I discussed in the Introduction, John Graham still follows this old hypothesis, as does Rafael Girard (1969). However, the large cluster at Kaminaljuyu could not much predate the first 500 B.C. construction phase at that site; nor could the few examples in the Maya lowlands logically predate that period. Evidence for dating the boulder sculptures at the type site of Monte Alto is, unfortunately, far from secure. The site was occupied from Middle Preclassic (eighth century B.C.) through Terminal Preclassic times, with its florescent period from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D. There was also some reoccupation during the Late Classic. Both Shook (1971: 75) and Hatch (n.d.) assign all these sculptures to the Terminal Preclassic florescent period.

While the corpus of excavation data from the Parsons and Shook Monte Alto project cannot be summarized here, arguments can be marshaled for somewhat earlier placement of the sculpture. We have already presented comparative evidence for dating its Olmecoid Monument 3 to before 200 B.C. However, only Monument 11 (Fig. 115) was excavated on some sort of original stone rubble platform on the north-south centerline of the mound group. The small amount of associated pottery was of Terminal Preclassic type, but did include a few diagnostic Providencia style sherds. Two radiocarbon samples from charcoal in this platform, however, date to 500 and 70 B.C., respectively (Stipp, Eldridge, and Cadwell 1976), conveniently bracketing the range we have estimated on other grounds, and also paralleling dates from Santa Leticia, a site that also features Monte Alto style boulder effigies (Demarest, Switsur, and Burger 1982). Six of the other exposed carved boulders were haphazardly lined up north-to-south on the extreme east margin of the site, and the remaining four were revealed during the Monte Alto project in an irregular east-west row on the west side (see Map 6 for the precise locations and orientations of the mounds and monuments at Monte Alto). None of these was reliably in situ in regard to supporting platforms or meaningful ceramic associations. As has been noted frequently, even sculptures weighing many tons were moved about and reused in Pre-Columbian times. The monuments at Monte Alto were no exception, and even Monument 11 may not have been found in its primary deposition. Without further evidence, the most judicious estimation should be that they were carved in a phase prior to their ultimate place of abandonment; nevertheless, they were probably

displayed at Monte Alto through the Terminal Preclassic.

Another common class of sculpture at Monte Alto is the group of plain stone stelae (fifteen) and plain round altars (three). Considering the abundance of both plain and carved stelae and altars at Terminal Preclasic Izapa, it could be conjectured that these represent the true sculptural effort contemporary with the major occupation phase at Monte Alto—with the boulder sculptures having been reset from the Post-Olmec phase when the site was first established. Even the basic central site layout follows the terminal Middle Preclassic pattern, with parallel north-south plazas flanked by platforms and mounds (cf. the Providencia phase mound grouping at Kaminaljuyu).

In other words, by Izapan times, Monte Alto must have been surpassed in creative accomplishment by both Izapa and Kaminaljuyu, where low-relief sculpture had by then become dominant. A further clue to the pre-Izapan dating of Monte Alto boulders is the total absence there of Izapa or Miraflores-Arenal low-relief sculpture, and the site was intensively sampled archaeologically. Moreover, we now have a few concrete data for the parameters of the Monte Alto style, other than the radiocarbon dates mentioned for the site. In the Chalchuapa excavations in El Salvador, Sharer (1978, 1: 172) reported a small, crude, potbelly sculpture in association with the earliest mound, c. 600 B.C. At the nearby Santa Leticia archaeological project (Demarest, Switsur, and Burger 1982) the three large Monte Alto style effigy boulder sculptures (Fig. 113) should belong to the radiocarbon and ceramically dated occupational range from the fifth century B.C. to the second century B.C. (or at the very latest, to a terminal 100 B.C.–A.D. 100 level of construction), thus establishing the upper time limit for this variation in El Salvador.

Precedent for the corpulent Monte Alto type of human figure is found in solid ceramic, Middle Preclassic figurines from Tlatilco and Las Bocas in Central Mexico, as well as Transitional Las Charcas figurines from Kaminaljuyu and elsewhere. However, in itself, this does not supply reliable evidence for any kind of precise dating for the stone sculptures, as corpulent figures and "fat gods" persisted in different styles and cultures well into the Classic period in Mesoamerica. There are Terminal Preclassic puffy-faced, crested, full-round *hachas* from the Gulf Coast, Teotihuacan fat figurines, and even Late Classic closed-eyed fat or potbellied monumental stone sculptures in the Yucatan peninsula (it would be superfluous to illustrate them here). However, we note one hollow, white-slipped, and jointed fat figurine from Kaminaljuyu of the 500–200 B.C. Providencia phase (Fig. 91). A similarly dated fat figurine from Chiapa de Corzo Phase IV–V (Lee 1967: fig. 3d) has Monte Alto facial features, beaded collar, wrap-around limbs, and perforated navel. Many others could be cited.

We are prepared to trace a broad stylistic development for the Monte Alto stone sculptures, beginning with Transition phase prototypes for the potbelly variety. The obvious starting point is the small, naturalistic, conical-based, Sin Cabezas trio (Figs. 15–17), the last of which has a grossly distended belly. Cruder derivatives, still with conical bases, occur at El Balsamo (Shook and Hatch 1978: fig. 3b) and at Los Cerritos-South (Fig. 20)—and are already in the Monte Alto style class. Also, the small boulder sculptures from Tiltepec on the coast near the Isthmus (Fig. 12) have wrap-around limbs and puffy-featured faces, often with pursed mouths. Some of the smallest of the potbelly sculptures on the Pacific Coast relate to these and may date toward the end of the Transition period, c. 500 B.C. Three were found close together in an alignment at Finca Solola near both Tiquisate and Sin Cabezas, Escuintla (Fig. 92), but without excavation data. They recall the Tiltepec sculptures, with relatively pursed mouths and puffy closed eyes. The one on the far right also has a beard and protruding navel. Others, such as Monuments 41 and 33 at Abaj Takalik (Graham 1981: figs. 8, 9) and La Gomera, just south of Monte Alto (Girard 1969: figs. 4, 5, 16) may be equally early in the sequence. The

majority of the potbelly sculptures (Table 6) tend to be larger and to have characteristically flat backs and engaged relief similar to some Olmecoid seated forms. However, their visages (i.e., those still with heads) and fat bodies are distinctly in Monte Alto style. These are probably early in the Post-Olmec phase; the huge effigy boulder sculptures at Monte Alto and Santa Leticia probably tend to occur toward the end of that phase.

We begin our survey with the greatest single concentration of potbelly sculptures, at Kaminaljuyu. Monument 4 (Fig. 93) has all the essential features of this class except for its Olmecoid rounded-rectangle eyes. It appears to hold a plaque over its belly, suspended from the neck by a pair of straps. This, along with Monument 3 and the Olmecoid Monument 5 (Fig. 68), was situated in an alignment at the south edge of the Lower Plaza at the Palangana, having been secondarily placed there when it became a monument plaza at the outset of the Late Classic (Map 4; and Lothrop 1926). Monument 3 (Fig. 94), though damaged, is typically Monte Alto style, including closed eyes and fringed collar. Both Monuments 3 and 4 have projecting tabular ears, an occasional variation in ear form at Monte Alto itself. Eroded Monument 8 (Fig. 95) used to be located, along with Monument 9 (Fig. 71), near the *Trebol* intersection immediately southeast of Kaminaljuyu (Lothrop 1926: fig. 45, excerpted from Maudslay's 1898 map). Twenty years ago it was displayed in the Aurora Park Zoo, and presently it is at the Museo Popol Vuh in Guatemala City. (These monuments are still being moved about to the point that it is difficult to keep up with their current locations.) Monument 8 again has a fringed collar, and probably spooled ears.[6] Monument 6 (Fig. 96), first reported southwest of Mound C-IV-10, is better preserved, except for a slice off the head. In addition to a fringed collar and earspool, the figure has a circular navel. Also, there is a twenty-five-centimeter-deep basin carved in the top of the head, which may or may not be contemporary with the original sculpture. Monument 40 (Fig. 97) is a small crude version, with protruding round navel and most of the head missing. Monument 7, with the whole top presently sheared off (Fig. 98), was found southwest of Mound C-IV-10, along with Monument 6. Maudslay, who reported the two monuments functioning as gateposts to Finca Arevalo, illustrated Monument 7 with its head still intact (1898, 2: pl. 75a). The body shows a segmented collar and circular navel. A nearly identical headless potbelly sculpture, Monument 41 (Fig. 99), turned up in recent times at Mound C-III-1. Another fragment (Monument 39; Fig. 100), more amorphous in its present form and of unknown site provenience, is now located in the Aurora Park Zoo.

Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946: fig. 133a–c) uncovered the puffy-faced head of a potbelly sculpture (Monument 38; Fig. 101) in the collapsed Esperanza phase Tomb B-1, indicating that it had been positioned on the platform above during Teotihuacan occupation. Interestingly, out of some respect to this ancient relic, the base of the head was repecked to display a renewed complete sculpture rather than a freshly decapitated potbelly. (It may possibly have reminded them of one of their own Teotihuacan "fat gods," whereby they could assume an established tradition far to the south.) In the Jorge Castillo collection, there is also a pair of miniature potbelly sculptures from Kaminaljuyu (Monuments 57 and 58; Fig. 102). These have beaded headbands, dentate collars, and double-voluted tabbed medallions. The fact that their arms are cut free from their bodies, as with the Transition peg-based sculptures, suggests that they are relatively early manifestations of the style. Almost a dozen truly miniature (less than 35 cm in height) potbelly sculptures are known from this region, including two (nos. 2380 and 7571, Museo Nacional, Guatemala) definitely from the site of Kaminaljuyu.

[6] There is another potbelly sculpture, of nearly identical size and detail to Monument 8, in the Newton private collection in Antigua, that reportedly has been in the same colonial house since the turn of the century. Although this could have been found in the Antigua Valley (and is so listed in Table 6), one wonders if it might not have been transported from Kaminaljuyu to furnish a house in Antigua just after Maudslay's time.

Two other highland potbelly monuments deserve illustration. A small one, with a distinctive pursed mouth, is reported to be from San Juan Sacatepequez, west of the Valley of Guatemala (Fig. 103). The second sculpture, which has been in the American Museum of Natural History in New York since 1863 (Fig. 104), has Santa Cruz Quiche, in the northwestern highlands, as its reported provenience. It closely resembles Monument 8 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 95) and its "cousin," now in Antigua (ftn. 6). Another headless potbelly may be seen, placed at a parking overlook along the road immediately above Lake Atitlan (Lothrop 1933: fig. 66).

Shifting to the Pacific Coast, I have illustrated a comparative sample of eight potbelly sculptures from western Chiapas to eastern Guatemala. (See Table 6 for a complete list.) Since the majority are widely distributed on the coast (eighteen are in the Department of Escuintla), it is reasonable to assume that Kaminaljuyu wholeheartedly adopted the Monte Alto "fat-god cult" (if such it was), but unlike most of the coastal sites, Kaminaljuyu progressed far beyond it in low-relief sculptural diversification. In the Post-Olmec period, Kaminaljuyu was fast becoming a dominant cultural center and was already transmitting coastal styles to the Central Maya lowlands.

Our first coastal example comes from the Tonala zone (Fig. 105) in the southern Isthmus. Its most special feature is a deer-head (?) medallion attached to a plain collar. The flat back shows two tablike tassels and a continuation of the leg lines. One crude example was recently found at Izapa (Lowe, Lee, and Martínez 1982: 106), and two small potbellies in the regional museum at Tapachula have the nearby provenience of La Unidad. At Abaj Takalik, I know of a half-dozen potbelly sculptures. We present only one large, but very eroded, example (Monument 2; Fig. 106), which was first illustrated by Thompson (1943: 111b). Three examples are known from Bilbao, Escuintla, two of which were shipped to Berlin, Germany, a century ago. We excavated Monument 58 (Fig. 107) twenty years ago in a secondary Late Classic context in front of a staircase in the monument plaza at the Bilbao site. Its special features include crossed legs, a very distended belly, upward-tilted head, and flattened back. It well may be somewhat earlier in type than the other two from the same site. Monument 47 in Berlin (Fig. 108) is one of the few potbelly sculptures that is more boulderlike, with a rough uncarved back and base; it is thus closer in type to the large boulder effigies at Monte Alto itself. It has a sagittal crest, dentate collar, and protruding navel. The spooled "question-mark" ears resemble many of the effigies at Monte Alto. A potbelly sculpture from La Concepcion, Escuintla, now in Paris (Fig. 109), is similar in essential aspects, but lacks the crest.

Our next burly example (Fig. 110) originally came from the site of Obero in southeastern Escuintla (though it has been moved to Finca La Maquina to the northwest). Two views of this flat-backed, cross-legged, fat figure were also shown by Richardson (1940: pl. 18e). From the site of La Nueva, Jutiapa, near the El Salvador border, comes another potbelly-related sculpture (Fig. 111), with a fringed collar and loincloth (also see Termer 1948: pl. 24). Its rounded-rectangle eyes and navel seem more Olmecoid in execution; and the inverted U-shaped mouth, with tongue, is identical to that of the Post-Olmec zoomorphic altar at El Balsamo (Shook and Hatch 1978: fig. 3a).

Finally, a most peculiar variation was accidentally discovered in 1976 during farming operations at El Baul, immediately north of Bilbao (Fig. 112). Its unique quality is not that the head is presently missing, but that it was conceived and carved as a decapitated potbelly figure. The rounded stump of the neck, raised four centimeters from the shoulders, is carefully pecked as such. This fact lends credence to the existence of a trophy-head cult on the coast in Post-Olmec times. Also, the unusual cross-armed posture (but not unusual in Classic period Cotzumalhuapan sculpture) may be another sign of a death pose. This El Baul figure has a navel, loincloth, and legs hunched close to

the base. The four-dozen known potbelly sculptures lend themselves to even sharper stylistic seriation; but that exercise, beyond the broad classifications already suggested, will not be attempted.

Turning once again to the Mexican Gulf Coast, a few examples can be identified of the southern potbelly style, which must have been introduced there in the Post-Olmec period. The best example, eighty centimeters in height, is from Polvaredas, Veracruz (Medellin 1960a: pl. 69), with wrap-around limbs and puffy-faced Monte Alto features, as well as a breast medallion. Not surprisingly, it particularly resembles our south Isthmus example (Fig. 105). In the Tres Zapotes inventory, there are two potbelly-related sculptures (Monuments K and L; Stirling 1943: pl. 9, lower left, and pl. 10, lower right). A small, quasi-potbelly sculpture also was reported by Blom and La Farge (1926: fig. 40) from Piedra Labrada, Veracruz. In addition, Stirling (1957: pls. 62c, 69b) published two miniature stone figures from Ceiba Grande and Tapijulapa, Tabasco, with obvious Monte Alto inspiration.

Monte Alto Substyle (Full-figure Boulders and Colossal Heads)

This analysis of Post-Olmec monuments will end with those characteristic of Monte Alto, Escuintla. (See Map 6 for their ultimate site disposition; today they all may be viewed in the central plaza of the adjacent town of La Democracia.) The unique feline-masked Monument 3 was discussed above, along with other Olmecoid monuments (Fig. 72). Of the remaining ten boulder sculptures, five are oversize human effigy boulders and five are colossal boulder heads.[7] The colossal stone heads are limited to the Monte Alto type site. The large full-figure boulders are presently known at only one other site: Santa Leticia, in western El Salvador. All are frontally carved, with their backs and bases rough and unshaped. Hatch (n.d.) thoroughly described and attempted a seriation of the eleven Monte Alto boulders (but not the potbelly sculptures found at other sites), properly assuming that the effigy boulders and colossal heads run a parallel course of development, as the heads duplicate facial features of the full effigy figures. However, considering that the chronological range of this particular group at the type site may be no more than 200 years, for present purposes they can be viewed as virtually contemporary, with only minimal internal stylistic variation. Effigy boulder Monument 6 (Fig. 114), however, can be placed at the beginning of this limited range, as it shares features with the general potbelly group.

In summary, then, we see the smaller full-round potbelly type emerging at the end of the Middle Preclassic in the sixth century B.C. and lasting into the Post-Olmec period. The latest potbellies probably overlap in time the earliest Monte Alto boulder effigies (cf. Figs. 108, 109). In my estimation, the specialized Monte Alto boulder group thus is toward the end of such a sequence, lasting to about 100 B.C. Marion Hatch (n.d.) would carry the style into the second century A.D.; indeed, it is probable that the sculptures themselves were revered and displayed through that period.

The three rotund full-effigy boulders far to the east, at Santa Leticia, are the most firmly dated examples of the class. First reported by Habel (1878: 32), they were finally dug up by Stanley Boggs, who determined them to be in situ in an evenly spaced row on a terraced platform. Recently the site was excavated by Demarest who concluded (1982) that they were displayed there until the abandonment of the site in A.D. 100. Although the major occupation occurred from 500 to 100 B.C., he himself was reluctant to suggest how early these sculptures were actually carved. They differ from the Monte Alto boulders only in that they depict large ruptured navels (Fig. 113).

[7] Recently another sculpture was noticed next to a natural spring, 1000 meters southeast of the Monte Alto mound group. This is a small eroded potbelly type, whose head has been recarved in "Xipe fashion." Being so far out of context, we do not include it in the site inventory. Also, a massive undecorated stone basin was discovered in the vicinity, and is now placed in the plaza at La Democracia.

Of the five human effigy boulders at Monte Alto, Monument 6 (Fig. 114) is not only the smallest, but probably the oldest, of the local type. It is the only sculpture there with elongated open eyes, wide plain collar with medallion, and upper arm ligatures—all traits that appear on other Olmecoid or full-round potbelly sculptures. Its horizontally segmented medallion is bracketed by scroll motifs. All other Monte Alto sculptures at the site have puffy closed eyes, with the lower margins of the lids sharply demarcated. They presumably represent the dead, and given the intentionally decapitated potbelly at El Baul (Fig. 112), even the colossal heads may represent the severed trophies of departed dignitaries or worthy captives. As a possible parallel, a trophy-head cult existed at the same time at Monte Alban; also, some of its Post-Olmec Danzantes have identically spooled and scrolled ears. Monument 11 (Fig. 115) is the example excavated on a rubble platform in front of a low mound at the site's centerline. Its particular feature is a recessed squared panel on the torso, which once may have held an inlay. Boulder Monuments 9, 4, and 5 (Figs. 116–118) require no further discussion, being thoroughly typical in facial features, wrap-around limbs, and so forth.

Unique to Monte Alto are its five colossal human boulder heads (Figs. 119–123). While there is some variation in types of ear, eye folds, and upper nasal definition, they form a class to themselves and give Monte Alto its special place in Post-Olmec stylistic innovation. However impressive they seem to be, we must view them as the end of a long Preclassic tradition—from the naturalistic helmeted, open-eyed, Olmec heads, to the bald, closed-eyed, relatively crude and stylized, boulder "trophy-head" conceptions that ultimately were conceived on the south coast.

The restricted, in-the-round sculptural production of the subsequent Izapan horizon is entirely distinct; and, in fact, other site centers then take the forefront in low-relief innovations and new directions leading to proto-Maya art. Division III sculpture has been treated in such detail because it never has been properly isolated or defined in all of its manifestations. The presentation of Division IV will emphasize the somewhat unappreciated contribution of Kaminaljuyu.

Style Division IV: Izapan (200 B.C.–A.D. 200)

Stone sculpture of Division IV corresponds to the Terminal Preclassic, a period bracketed between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200, on the basis of the ceramic chronology set up for Kaminaljuyu by Wetherington (1978) with its sequent Verbena and Arenal subphases. Eventually, 150 B.C.–A.D. 150 may prove to be tighter chronological boundaries for this era of widespread Preclassic florescence in site development and sculptural creativity in the southern area. The first half of the span may be referred to as "early" Terminal Preclassic, and the last half may alternatively be called "Protoclassic" (Table 1). By 100 B.C., some of the sculptural innovations in the south had already been adopted by sites in the Central Maya lowlands, and by A.D. 200 the latter area was becoming dominant in its expression of very early Classic Maya sculptural art.

The Protoclassic period of overlap of Southern Maya development and the Central Maya crystallization of art and iconography is a chapter of Mesoamerican history that has had insufficient attention. It is also the period of the development of complex societies in Mesoamerica. A principal purpose of this study is to demonstrate that the major source of influence on the developing Lowland Maya style in the monumental arts derived not from the Izapa type-site, but rather from Kaminaljuyu. While these sculptural styles were interrelated in their origins and their development, there are significant differences that must be clarified in order to address the problems of the formation of the Classic Lowland Maya art style.

Given this relatively limited span of archaeological time, the distinction of early Terminal Preclassic sculptures from Protoclassic ones must often be based rather on stylistic determinations

than on controlled excavation data. (See Part Two for comments on the futility of depending on Verbena-associated sculptures versus Arenal-associated sculptures at Kaminaljuyu for reliable chronological separation. We may note here that "Verbena" was for a time labeled "Miraflores"—a term we now adopt for a sculptural substyle.) Similarly, some Kaminaljuyu monuments included in this section have no recorded archaeological provenience at the site, and others were found reused during the Middle Classic period, both at Mounds A and B, and at the Palangana "monument plaza." Even at Izapa there is no internal archaeological evidence for refining the seriation of its stone sculptures beyond the broad time-range stated. Although the entire period is conventionally labeled "Izapan," after the better-known Izapa "narrative" style, greater attention will be focused on the contemporary Miraflores and Arenal "proto-Maya" sculptural styles centering at Kaminaljuyu. These two substyles, further, are distinguished on the basis of stylistic analysis. While there is no need to change terms firmly established in the literature, the "Izapan horizon" in southeastern Mesoamerica might now more explicitly be called the "Miraflores horizon," to emphasize the more significant Kaminaljuyu sphere of influence. (See Map 3, for the total distribution of sites sharing these styles during the Terminal Preclassic.)

The Izapan period cultures curtail the earlier emphasis on full-round sculpture in favor of low relief as their primary expression. The known sites are considerably more limited in distribution than those with full-round sculpture of the previous Post-Olmec era (Map 2). This may indicate the beginning of centralization and concentration of power at selected sites such as Izapa, Abaj Takalik, Bilbao-El Baul, and Kaminaljuyu (Map 3). Since very little archaeological work has been done on the coast between Escuintla and western El Salvador, one might expect additional Preclassic discoveries among the many sites in this geographical gap; surface finds of later Cotzumalhuapan sculpture are found in this zone.

Types of Terminal Preclassic monumental stone sculptures include some full-round toad altars, colossal stone incense burners, four-legged altars or thrones, and other miscellaneous stones. Plain uncarved stelae and altars are probably at their peak of production, occurring plentifully at most flourishing sites. Predominating, however, are low-relief carved stelae, wall panels, and altars. This period is characterized by the establishment of the stela-altar complex (or "cult"), with the normal pairing of a free-standing stela with a horizontal altar stone, whether round, square, or zoomorphic. Some of the Post-Olmec zoomorphs may have been reused in such associations in Izapan times. The stela-altar complex spread to the Gulf Coast (e.g., Stela C at Tres Zapotes with its confronting plain altar; see M. D. Coe 1976, fig. 4, for drawings of the stela), and ultimately to the Central Maya lowlands where it became a hallmark of Classic Maya commemorative monuments, whatever the actual purpose of the altarlike stones. A special class of sculpture in the southern Kaminaljuyu sphere comprises the "silhouetted reliefs," often perforated, carved only on one face, and mounted on short or tall pedestal bases—an apparent outgrowth of the previous pedestal sculpture type.

Subject matter and stylistic qualities of Izapan period sculpture are so diverse as to be difficult to characterize generally and comprehensively for all the style subdivisions. Complex narrative scenes are accompanied by elaborate iconographic symbolism, with a perfection of detailed representation of esoteric events and mythology. Compositions are more often surrounded by frames, and conventionalized celestial and terrestrial bands "sandwich" a variety of active themes. The top-line and base-line motifs tend to be conservative in representation, while the central scenes more accurately reflect stylistic variation and evolution. There is a substantial diversity of profile dragon-monsters in the art, probably indicating a proliferation of specialized icons. "Dragon" forms in themselves also tend to be conservative, suggesting that we rely more

heavily on the evidence of other factors of composition to discern the chronological and stylistic differences within the period. Also portrayed are celestial "diving gods," serpent-winged deities (with proto-Maya glyphs infixed in the wings), double-headed serpents, trophy heads, possible ball game referents, confronting and interacting human figures, as well as single, standing personages. The elaboration of costume detail is outstanding, from occasional footgear to ornamented belts, bustles, and headdresses. Belts often have attached "demon" heads. Featherwork and a profusion of scroll motifs are also featured.

By the time of Christ, we begin to find examples of bar-and-dot calendrical inscriptions, and monuments with columns of proto-Maya hieroglyphic texts. These, when combined with confronting, or single—perhaps historical—personages, may even indicate the southern Protoclassic appearance of dynastic content to the art, a content now well-established for Classic Maya art.

Before analyzing the 200 B.C.–A.D. 200 substyles, it would be well to characterize in more detail the historical picture of this florescent era. (Also see Part Two, for a comprehensive synthesis.) For the purpose of discussing the sculptural art, the Terminal Preclassic can be viewed as three continuous, but interrelated, clusters of development: the early phase reveals the standardization of the Izapan narrative style and the establishment of new Miraflores-Arenal directions at Kaminaljuyu (all with Post-Olmec prototypes); the middle (c. 50 B.C.–A.D. 50) sees the first Cycle 7 inscriptions and proto-Maya iconography; and the late phase witnesses the conclusion to the Izapan narrative tradition, plus more explicitly Protoclassic Maya manifestations in other regions, especially at Kaminaljuyu.

The Izapan substyle concentrated around its type site, though at first it shared important features with the Kaminaljuyu center. However, the distinct Miraflores and Arenal substyles at Kaminaljuyu influenced a larger southern sphere of sites by the first century B.C., extending from Abaj Takalik to Chalchuapa on the coast (Map 3).

The Arenal style seems more regionally conservative and complex, while the Miraflores is artistically more progressive and refined. We view most of the monuments bearing late Cycle 7 and early Cycle 8 calendrical dates and inscriptions as more in the Arenal substyle than the Izapan. Izapa's florescence was in the early period, with a total of fourteen carved stelae assigned to it in our rough seriation. By the time of Christ, the Kaminaljuyu sphere had become even more widely influential. The Miraflores low-relief substyle, with its elegant single standing figures, crystallized by the Protoclassic phase and then became more Early Maya in character. At that time there are fewer carved stelae at Izapa, perhaps eight total, and they are all executed in a complex—by now almost non-Maya—narrative manner.

Although the diffusion of the Izapan styles to outside regions will be outlined at the conclusion of this section, mention may be made of their contemporary concentration on the Gulf Coast around Tres Zapotes, their influence on Monte Alban (Phase II) and Dainzu in Oaxaca, and their transfer to the Central Maya lowlands. At Tikal, in particular, the first florescence of architecture, with associated decorated tombs and sculptured facades, dates from 100 B.C. to A.D. 100. The earliest low-relief sculpture fragments probably date to the first century B.C., while the tombs, painted in a southern-related style, cluster around the time of Christ. By c. A.D. 50, the stela-altar cult, with rare associated inscriptions, appears in the Peten; but its first calendrical dates are not carved until the A.D. 200–400 Early Classic period. Unlike the stelae in the southern area, the earliest Peten stelae are usually carved on both faces—a substantial point of difference at the outset of the Lowland Maya tradition. Further, by A.D. 200 the southern area had virtually abandoned its precocious Preclassic sculpture traditions.

The Izapa style, per se, will be discussed only briefly, with references back to it when appropriate. Although I am reluctant to leave out illustra-

tions of major Izapan stelae, which form so much a part of the style period I am discussing, these have already been published in the best manner possible (see Norman 1973 [illustrated album], and 1976 [text and complete coverage]). As previously listed, a small group of more open-spaced low-relief stelae at Izapa may be considered Post-Olmec prototypes of the narrative style that comes to its peak of production in the first half of the Terminal Preclassic (the Guillen phase at Izapa; Lowe, Lee, and Martínez 1982). The following Izapa stelae epitomize the Guillen phase: 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 18, 21, 23, 24, 45, 50, and 60. Izapa Altars 3 and 20, and the four-legged Thrones 1, 2, and 3 also should be included. These monuments comprise a wide range of subject matter that includes the stela with a figure decapitating a fallen victim, and with a palanquin in the "background" (Stela 21); the stela with a skeletal figure and an ascending cord with "climbing" figure (Stela 50); and other stelae with such representations as winged diving gods.

Izapa Stelae 1, 5, 12, 22, 25, 26, 27, and 67 are far more complex compositions, and their occasional inclusion of extra figures above the celestial band, place them in the last half of the Terminal Preclassic in our seriation (the Hato phase at Izapa; Lowe, Lee, and Martínez 1982). These include Stela 1, the fisherman with his work baskets, and Stela 27, one of two carvings at Izapa with numerical bars over an eroded glyph (though Stela 1 has five dots in its supra-celestial scene). The Miscellaneous Monument 60 fragment (Lowe, Lee, and Martínez 1982: 20) features a bar-and-dot numeral "seven" over a "death" glyph with dependent scrolls, similar to two large glyphs on Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 which also dates to the early Protoclassic. Then there is the extraordinary Stela 5, with its intricate "tree of life" composition that demonstrates the extreme of *horror vacui,* and surely is one of the latest in the series of Izapa carvings—if the simpler, more open-spaced low-relief beginnings of the coastal sculpture traditions in the Post-Olmec period are taken into account. While the direction of Izapan stylistic development is relatively certain, the underlying reasoning and justification for my seriation will only become clear by cross-reference to other sculptures described below.

The essential features of all carved stelae from Izapa consist of the occasionally interchangeable top-line and base-line (celestial and terrestrial) designs, which vary from abstract jaguar mouth-and-snout elements (often comprising "split images"), to realistic water bands contained by profile dragon heads. The bulk of space between is devoted to worldly or mythological scenes, with confronting standing or seated human figures, or interactions between such images as earthly vegetation monsters and descending winged celestial figures. The compositions are replete with profile "demon" images, massed scrolls, featherwork, and an elaboration of ornamentation and iconography. The symbolic narratives beg interpretation. They clearly had didactic value for the contemporary viewers, as surely as they evoke a basic response in us, however distant we are from their ethos. Glyphlike signs are not absent, but are better developed in neighboring styles. Relatively flat relief predominates, and scroll motifs are tightly rounded. The human figures tend to be stocky, similar to the contemporary Arenal style from Kaminaljuyu which also manifests a tendency toward *horror vacui.* Within this one great art style period, it is important to analyze the specific differences between standard Izapan presentation and Miraflores-Arenal presentation.

The Terminal Preclassic sculptural period at Kaminaljuyu was formerly classified rather loosely into an earlier Miraflores and a later Arenal component (Miles 1965), implying a sequent development of styles corresponding to the successive Verbena and Arenal ceramic subphases at the site. Ostensibly there are two different, but interrelated, sculpture styles at Kaminaljuyu—but it is now reasonable to suppose that they developed in collateral fashion, and that both shared influences from the Izapa style. In my opinion, the only way to make sense of the perplexing diversity of monuments is to propose that *both* the

Miraflores and the Arenal substyles had an earlier 200–1 B.C. facet and a later A.D. 1–200 facet, to make a two-part division in each. It is impossible to suggest that one entirely preceded or followed the other: throughout history, in any actively creative period of developing arts there are often examples of diverse schools of art that emerged simultaneously. However, it is rare to see them co-exist at one metropolitan center. This assumption also agrees with Wetherington's ceramic analysis which determined that Verbena and Arenal were intergrading subphases of the Terminal Preclassic.

Although some individual sculptures are difficult to place confidently in one substyle or the other, I shall attempt to separate the stylistic orientations of Miraflores and Arenal. The chronological bracketing of the phenomenon as a whole seems secure, and the earliest and latest sculptures are demonstrable, but the overlap in the substyles tends to obscure precise identification. If one chose a few "type" examples of Izapa sculpture, a few "type" Miraflores sculptures, and a few "type" Arenal sculptures, the stylistic schools of art could be easily demonstrated. However, the known corpus of material does not segregate so conveniently. The important task at present is to publish as many of the sculptures as possible and to cross-reference them to better-documented examples of the period. At our present stage of knowledge, it might be best to talk about a hyphenated Miraflores-Arenal tradition as a counterpart to an Izapan tradition, and then to examine probable development and differences through specific examples. The Kaminaljuyu sphere of sculpture is more proto-Maya in its style and iconography than is the Izapa sphere. Once the offshoots of this sculptural tradition were isolated and established in the Central Maya lowlands, it became possible to perceive a more linear development of styles from Early to Late Classic (see Proskouriakoff 1950).

The combined Miraflores-Arenal characteristics are found in the carving of wall panels, stelae, altars, and silhouetted reliefs as well as full-round sculpture. Full-round sculpture, when documented, tends to be early in the period. Along with a profusion of symbolic referents, there is a regular occurrence of finely incised detailing of scrolls and other motifs (with incised curves on bent limbs), and usually the whole composition is framed. It is worth noting that fine-line incising is regularly found in the contemporary pottery. The early monuments often show bare feet, and often have inset panels with rounded corners; the edges of the stones are often curved. There are also proto-Maya glyphs with cartouches. The late monuments show looped platform sandals, trefoil shell pendants attached to belt heads, as well as hieroglyphic texts. Subject matter includes profile dragons, serpent-birds, "peering" celestial figures, framed basal panels, as well as human figures. Common motifs include feathers, knotted bows, scrolls (often bifurcated), voluted earplugs, bell-shaped ear pendants, nose beads, and other beaded ornaments.

On the other hand, certain criteria separate the Arenal and Miraflores substyles. Arenal is more closely affiliated with the Izapan narrative style than is the Miraflores in general, and may be considered the more conservative local tradition. In the earliest Arenal style reliefs, we find complex scenes with mythological creatures, filled in with scrolls and supplementary figures (see Altars 9 and 10, Figs. 139–141, for type examples). In the middle and late phases there are scenes that feature double facing figures, and sky deities, glyph columns, and late Cycle 7 and early Cycle 8 bar-and-dot inscriptions. Concentration of the bar-and-dot inscriptions on the coast suggests close ties to Izapa, even where Izapan sculpture itself lacks such inscriptions. Looped platform sandals and stubby shell belt pendants begin to appear after A.D. 1. Special classes of sculpture include four-legged altars (as at Izapa) as well as drum-shaped altars and some silhouetted reliefs. In general, Arenal human figures have relatively stocky proportions, occasionally with body outlining; faces have puffy features and bulbous noses. Arenal scrolls and earplugs tend to be more

evenly rounded, with inner incised outlines. A major departure from Izapan technique, and one of the most significant stylistic criterion of Arenal raised relief, especially at the type site, is a quality of convex carving that produces softened edges.

Contemporary Miraflores low-relief sculpture is more "proto-Maya" in overall stylistic execution, though, interestingly, the Arenal reliefs seem more apt to bear glyphic inscriptions. Miraflores art shows an elegance and refinement of line and technique, with very precise and crisp relief; the flatter relief is often carved in several planes. There is a tendency for volutes and earplugs to be rounded rectangles, while two-part scrolls tend to be elongated. Emphasis is on single standing figures of more linear and realistic proportions (and facial features) than we find in Arenal style, with more empty space surrounding the main figures. Generally a simple continuous outline shapes the thighs and buttocks. However, two profile feet, one placed behind the other, and both showing the big toe, are consistent aberrations in draftsmanship. Costume and ornamentation are greatly elaborated with symbolic forms and with profuse, finely incised detail; while Miraflores figures are often skirtless, belts, bustles, and headdresses are especially resplendent. Glyphlike symbols occur, and Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 has a unique, finely incised hieroglyphic text. In addition, as with Arenal sculpture, there are many graceful silhouetted reliefs.

Early Miraflores sculpture commences with flat, almost blocky, relief. It culminates in Kaminaljuyu Stela 11 (Fig. 169) with its sky deity and basal band; and, incidentally, its early Izapan relationships in iconography. Middle Terminal Preclassic Miraflores is typified by Stela 10 (Fig. 175), with its intensive proto-Maya elaboration. Late Miraflores art is typified by Kaminaljuyu Stela 2 (Fig. 182), as well as Bilbao Monument 42 (Fig. 183) in which we observe the perfection of the profile standing elite figure with tiered and beaded featherwork, plumed back-racks and bustles, looped sandals, and triple-shell belt pendants that are elongated in Early Maya proportion.

Miraflores-Arenal Full-round Sculpture

Terminal Preclassic full-round monuments seem to cluster in the first (Verbena) half of the phase. Examples, however, are rare in comparison with the low-relief inventory—so much so, that there is little significant evidence for assigning specific pieces with any confidence to Miraflores or to Arenal. Complicating this problem is the fact that full-round sculpture has little direct stylistic relationship to low reliefs.

Classes of stone monuments include giant three-pronged incense burners, toad effigy altars, and a number of full-round human and animal sculptures. The flat and drum-shaped altars and the "silhouetted reliefs" will be discussed in the context of low reliefs. The stylistic emphasis is an almost exaggerated naturalism and thus recalls the figures surmounting the earlier pedestal sculptures. In addition, there are grotesque masklike images, also reflecting an Olmecoid heritage. Features on the animal sculptures show bulging half-round relief (not so prominent on the Post-Olmec zoomorphic altars) and hemispherical round eyes: full-round sculpture during this period thus already shows a certain archaism. Effigy mushroom stones continue in the Verbena phase at Kaminaljuyu (Tomb 1 in Verbena Mound E-III-3 yielded an example, as well as a group of miniature toad mortars in the style of the contemporary monumental altars; Shook and Kidder 1952: fig. 78).

The inventory of full-round sculptures begins at Kaminaljuyu with Monument 49—a grotesque head-effigy fragment (Fig. 124). This sculpture was recovered in 1960, about 250 meters to the west of the Mound A and B group (Map 4). The blunt-snouted anthropomorphic feline-masked conception seems to derive from the Olmecoid boulder Monument 3 at Monte Alto (Fig. 72), and relates closely in style to a trio of stone censers from Kaminaljuyu that will be described next. It also relates in general style to the earliest Miraflores blocky relief sculptures (cf. Silhouette 11, Fig. 166). Monument 49 is a drooping-cheeked,

puffy lidded, close-eyed monster with projecting upper lip, corner mouth scrolls, voluted eyebrows, flangelike ears, and a bow knot on the headpiece.

The set of three colossal three-pronged incense burners with grotesque heads, Monuments 16, 17, and 18 (Figs. 125–128), were found together in large Mound D-III-6 to the southwest of Verbena Mound E-III-3. Mound D-III-6 was first excavated in the mid-twenties (Villacorta 1927), and the stone censers were located by him there later (Miles 1965: 257). Ceramically, the mound, now gone, was Verbena-Arenal, but the sculptures surely belong to the earlier subphase. (Borhegyi [1951] assigned identical excavated three-pronged ceramic censers to the Miraflores [Verbena] phase.) The censers comprise a matched set, with slight variations in size. On each, the vertical prongs on the flat tops are broken, but the stubs are visible.

On Monument 17 (Figs. 127, 128), which is the best preserved, note the cylindrical form with frontal grotesque head, the side ear flanges, and the three prongs. The front two are connected by a raised ridge, similar to that on the ceramic counterparts discussed by Borhegyi (on those an incense-burning bowl would have rested on top of the prongs). The feline-masked images again have as their prototype Monument 3 at Monte Alto as well as other Olmecoid representations. In these "Miraflores" versions are the characteristic projecting subnose alveolum, feline mouth with split fangs at the corners, *Tau*-shaped front tooth, and four tufts (water-drop symbols?) dripping over the chin. The eyebrows are scrolled in the nasal direction and end in tripartite curves. The headband has a central U-framed symbol and related side emblems. A similar headband may be seen on the 100 B.C.–A.D. 50 Cauac phase greenstone mask at Tikal (W. R. Coe 1965a: 21). The back of the headband is tied in a bow knot with attached U symbol in a cartouche, which in turn has dependent double volutes.

Although outside relationships will be discussed separately, we may note immediately the iconography mirrored in the contemporary Chicanel phase stucco architectural masks on the middle tier of E-VII-sub at Uaxactun (Ricketson and Ricketson 1937), complete with *Tau*-shaped front teeth. While the various "long-lipped" images are later associated with earth, serpent, and rain deities, the filed front teeth here seem to be a specific prototype of the Maya sun god—or, more likely, a combination of all those references. Similarities to the early Monte Alban II "Zegache" vase from Oaxaca (Easby and Scott 1970: no. 77) are also notable.

The so-called Miraflores style "toad altars" clearly pertain to the 200–1 B.C. Verbena phase, an assignment confirmed by the presence of miniature mortarlike versions in Tomb 1 at Mound E-III-3. The large Altar 5 (Fig. 129) was located between Mounds A-V-6 and A-V-8 in the western sector of Kaminaljuyu (Map 4) and epitomizes this class of monumental sculpture in its naturalistic full-rounded contours. It has a deep round basin in its back, though a rear section is broken away. The forelimbs have emphasized bulging shoulders, another archaistic trait. Between the shoulders and the hemispherical segmented eyes are round bosses that may specify the poison sacs of the "hallucinogenic" class of tropical toads (see Furst 1972). The mouth of the toad is convincingly realistic. For the much smaller (length 52 cm) toad Altar 4, we must refer to the drawings in Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946: fig. 40), as its present whereabouts is unknown to me. It was unearthed in the middle of the plaza between Mounds A and B, doubtless in a late, reused context. It is similar in style to Altar 5, including the basin, though the shoulders are framed by inverted U motifs. (We should note that there is another comparably elegant Miraflores toad altar, with basin, of unrecorded provenience, presently displayed at the Aurora Park Zoo in Guatemala City. Its dimensions are 64 x 52 cm, but the features of its head entirely preclude its being the same sculpture shown in the artist's illustration for Kaminaljuyu Altar 4.)

Toad Altar 3 (Fig. 130) was found in 1950 about halfway between Mounds D-III-6 and D-III-14,

near a low mound designated D-III-15. It is the first of a series of stone toad monuments lacking the basin. It has bulging shoulders on the forelimbs, but its flatter eyes have crescent plaques, like some of the Olmecoid zoomorphs. Altar 6 (Fig. 131) has a flat back, tightly flexed rear limbs, and bunched front shoulders like Altar 3, but the head area has flaked, thus precluding description of the eye form; there is no record of its find spot at Kaminaljuyu. Toad Altar 7, in a private Guatemalan collection (Fig. 132), is unusual in its broad and excessively flattened form that recalls the type of tropical black toad that puffs itself up when in danger, and then hugs the ground so that it has to be "peeled" off its perch. In relatively low relief, it depicts flexed hind limbs, attenuated forelimbs, and broad shoulders located above its plaqued and bulging eyes; there are incised markings on its back. Its distinctive flanking mouth scrolls led Furst (1981: fig. 17) to identify this with the kind of toad that sheds and slowly ingests its own skin.

Two more flat-backed toad sculptures (Altars 11 and 13; not illustrated) were found in very fragmentary condition by the Kaminaljuyu Project, where they had been redeposited in the Lower Plaza of the Palangana (see Map 5 for their precise provenience). Altar 11, consisting of the rear half of such a modeled toad, is 80 cm in width. Altar 13, in a worse state of preservation, has a maximum dimension of 105 cm. Finally, we note another large toad altar, 115 cm in length (now at the Aurora Park Zoo), which has the provenience of the Durazno site at El Tejar on the Chimaltenango plateau (see Villacorta and Villacorta 1927: 121). Unusual decorative features on this toad include a voluted rattlesnake tail, a fanged tongue, and diamond-shaped spinal markings that combine toad and serpent symbolism.

An important dump, or cache, of six Terminal Preclassic stone sculptures was disinterred in 1961 during housing construction, in level terrain, about 200 meters west of Mound C-IV-8 (see Map 4; today the junction of the road leading to San Juan Sacatepequez and 23rd Ave. in Guatemala's Zone 7). The latest associated potsherds were of the Arenal subphase (Miles, personal communication, 1963). Two of the monuments were the drum-shaped Altars 9 and 10 (to be discussed separately below), and four were unusual full-round sculptures (Monuments 51–54, Figs. 133–136). All of them most probably belong in time to the earlier Verbena subphase. While the sculptures are more "portable" than "monumental," their style and known associations deserve recording along with the larger sculptures.

Our listed Monument 51 (Fig. 133) is an almost spherical stone ball with an inset puffy-featured, close-eyed, human face; it may be compared with the earlier carved stone ball illustrated in Figure 45. Spherical stones, both carved and uncarved, occur in Peripheral Coastal lowland sites, from Late Olmec to much more recent times. Monument 52 from the same cache (Fig. 134) depicts a "piggy-back" monkey pair (see Easby and Scott 1970: no. 54, for a side view). Note the full-rounded contours and the eye surrounds, as well as the outlined V-shaped forehead and breast emblems. Similar in modeling technique is Monument 53 (Fig. 135), a naturalistic representation of the "pisote" mammal with its characteristic paws-over-snout posture. To reinforce the stylistic attribution, note the tight scroll at the base of the ear. Identical images are found on modeled Verbena phase mushroom stones. The last small sculpture in this cache is the unique Monument 54 (Fig. 136). This depicts a kneeling human figure with realistic face, bulky tiered breast medallion, *Tau* headband, and a feline languishing over the headdress that is balanced by a scroll on the right. Sculptures such as this would be difficult to place in time if we had no record whatsoever of their excavated associations. Obviously, there is much more to be learned from even the known Terminal Preclassic diversity.

For Monument 19, a headless torso fragment about 70 cm in height, I must turn to Miles (1965: fig. 16d) for both illustration and description, as I have not seen it. It was found in the E-IV sector of Kaminaljuyu, and is in a Guatemalan private collection. I quote Miles's description (1965: 262, where it is mislabeled Monument 17):

This headless and legless human figure is a stiff compromise between in-the-round sculpture and silhouette; the back is pecked like silhouettes with no carryout of the features carved on the face. Below the battered space where a face had been carved are a fine "bow-tie" and stiff bib.

For Kaminaljuyu, we illustrate one final superb carving, also in a private collection. Although relatively small in scale, we ennoble this masklike stone, with grotesque anthropomorphic face, as Monument 55 (Fig. 137). The sagging cheeks suggest an old man, while the jaws are feline. The double-scrolled eyebrows and grooved trefoil head ornamentation relate the object to this early Terminal Preclassic period.

Two important full-round sculptures from the Pacific Coast will be cited for general comparison to the Miraflores-Arenal inventory from Kaminaljuyu. The magnificent and gigantic rampant male jaguar from El Baul, Escuintla (Monument 14; Fig. 138) is stylistically like the Miraflores toads in its naturalistic full-rounded contours and bulging eyes. Also note the double-fringed collar and bow knot at the front. A curved tail is carved on the back, and incised "tear bands" flow back from the eyes. This sculpture was originally found on the summit of the same mound where the Cycle-7 Stela 1 had been erected in the center of the front. This large mound, isolated immediately south of the Middle Classic El Baul acropolis, is presumably Late Preclassic, although it is as yet unexcavated. Far to the west, at Tonala, Chiapas, lies a large, dragonlike zoomorph, completely covered with incised markings of incipient Protoclassic style (Monument 3; Ferdon 1953: pl. 22a–d). Agrinier (1960: fig. 13) correctly called attention to the relationship to Horcones phase carved human femurs at Chiapa de Corzo.

Clearly, however, the culmination of a long Preclassic full-round sculptural tradition occurred at Kaminaljuyu in the early Terminal Preclassic period, and was not to be renewed until the eclectic, and occasionally archaistic, Classic Cotzumalhuapa period in the south.

Early Arenal Low-relief Sculpture (200–1 B.C.)

Despite certain overlapping stylistic features, the Miraflores and Arenal low-relief traditions, centering at Kaminaljuyu during the Terminal Preclassic, will be treated separately. Though the traditions were continuous from 200 B.C. to C. A.D. 200, I divide each substyle of this sculpture Division IV into probable early and late facets, with some attention to a middle developmental phase around the time of Christ. Having discussed the general stylistic qualities, this section will describe in detail the Arenal style sculptures from Kaminaljuyu, and subsequently examine related reliefs on the coast.

Probably the most remarkable and complex of early Arenal configurations is the pair of drum-shaped Altars 9 and 10 (Figs. 139–141), recovered in the same "Arenal" cache with the full-round Sculptures 51–54 described above. The matched altars are cylindrical, stand on low cylindrical tetrapods, and are about 60 cm in height. They were carved from a light-green, soft volcanic stone, and when discovered bore traces of red pigment. They are intricately carved in low relief, with diagnostic Arenal rounded quality, on their circumferences. The friezes are framed by plain bands at the top and bottom. The two compositions are essentially mirror images of one another, but cannot easily be appreciated without the aid of roll-out photographs and drawings (Figs. 140, 141). The subject matter, significantly, pertains to the evolution of the Maya serpent-winged deity (Parsons 1983).

The form of these altars is not unique in this region; another cylindrical altar, with geometric carving, is known from Finca Solola, Tiquisate, on the Pacific Coast. It was discovered in a plaza not far from the line of three small Preclassic potbelly sculptures (Fig. 92). Further, there is a small plain cylindrical altar from Kaminaljuyu, 43 cm in height, in the Castillo collection in Guatemala, but it has not been included in our numeration of monumental sculptures. This also has a raised border at the top and four short cylindrical

supports. The same form recurs in Classic Maya sculpture (Parsons 1980: no. 325).

Altars 9 and 10 were conceived as a pair, and the surfaces are equally well preserved, but there are differences in quality of execution and in details of motifs. Altar 10 was probably the first to be carved, and is certainly by the master sculptor. Each motif is crisply distinct and comprehensible. Altar 9, on the other hand, seems to be a copy by an apprentice; the detailing is comparatively casual and seems to show less understanding of the intended iconography, even though the technology of carving is fine. Dominating the theme of Altar 10 (Fig. 141) is an elaborate profile serpent-bird monster, facing left. His counterpart on Altar 9 (Fig. 140) faces right. Both have a pair of outstretched feathered wings facing full front. A glyphlike sign, with dependent profile dragon head, fills a column of space at the rear (or more likely at the front, depending upon where one "splits" the roll-out composition) of the principal monsters. Extant on Altar 9, this glyph element is absent on Altar 10 due to the shearing off of a corner by the bulldozer that unearthed the cache.

Altar 10 will be described in detail because of the clarity of its component elements. The left-facing head in the center of the composition has the long, sharply down-turned upper lip characteristic of certain Izapan dragons (Miles 1965: fig. 3). A scroll emerges from the rear of the mouth; also there is a tooth, and an attenuated, double-chinned lower jaw. A bell-shaped motif is appended to this jaw. Perched on the long upper lip is a "human" nose from which a scroll projects, an eye, and a supraorbital ovoid element with infixed U motif as well as a pair of trailing scrolls. Behind the head is a compound ear ornament with central ear spool, tied bows above and below, an upper scroll and a lower bell-shaped pendant with three attached beads. The headdress structure incorporates two glyph signs (the various "glyphs" will be separately discussed). The body of the creature is contained by a curved band that connects the tip of the snout with the rear leg. Within the belly we find a forward-facing profile head; its mouth area has a diagonal band, nose, and attached scrolls. An ovoid scrolled eye is placed above, with the outline of an earplug to the right. Two reptilian legs tipped with elaborate serpent heads, with bifurcating scrolls falling from their mouths, sprout from the body at the base of the monster. The forward serpent head is viewed right-side up, while the rear is upside down. At the tail end of the body we find a horizontally placed trefoil symbol, with a diagonal band in the cartouche. A wide, beaded and feathered, tail curls off behind.

Of special interest is the treatment of the monster's wings, of which the forward wing can be viewed most clearly. The tiers of feathers are contained and held by a profile serpent-mouth bracket, which substitutes for the wing bones. The back corner of this abstract mouth turns in a scroll, while above the front of the serpent mouth is the typical humanoid dragon nose. Lining the mouth is an alveolar element containing one molar, and ending in a tight volute. Below, in the center of the wing, a half-framed glyphic sign is featured. The rear serpent wing also contains a "glyph," but of another type. (Similar serpent wings are depicted on stelae from Izapa.) This description completes our serpent-winged "deity" in all its component parts.

An Izapan-type profile dragon head, placed vertically, facing downward, with mouth opening to the right, is isolated "behind" the serpent-bird monster. The glyph to which it was appended is missing on the damaged Altar 10, but its counterpart is preserved on the upper left side of Altar 9. A knotted bow tie separates that framed symbol from the pendent dragon. This dragon on Altar 10 is agnathous, with a projecting upper alveolus containing four teeth. A pair of large decorated scrolls spew from its mouth. A lobed element attaches to the front of the snout, while scrolls emerge from the eye region and also surmount the dragon head.

It will not be necessary to describe the minor variations on Altar 9, except to note the differing central earplug pendant and the absence of the bell-shaped motif below the mouth of the serpent-winged deity's head.

Both altars incorporate six rounded-square cartouches with infixes that may be considered proto-Maya day-sign glyphs. They occur in the same relative positions on each altar, with slight variations in the manner of draftsmanship; once again, they seem more accurately rendered on Altar 10. The two wing glyphs are mutually discrete; the forward wings contain the basic sign for "day," (*Kin*); the rear wings contain one-half of the *Kan* cross symbol, which might possibly be a prototype here for the Classic Maya day glyph, *Chuen*. (Linda Schele, personal communication, 1982, prefers an *Akbal* ["night"] reading for this—thus assigning opposing day-night meaning to these serpent wings.) The frontal headdress glyph of the serpent-winged deities is graphically similar to the latter, and its specific rendering on Altar 10 definitely suggests an early form of *Akbal*. A related glyph appears on the headdress frontal of Miraflores Stela 11, Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 169). Likewise, there is an *Akbal* glyph in the headdress of a painted figure on a structure at Tikal dated to the time of Christ (W. R. Coe 1965a: 19). At the back of the Kaminaljuyu headdresses is a sign which may be interpreted as *Muluc,* the Maya sign for "water." The trefoil symbols in the tail bustles are prevalent on Late Preclassic monuments, but are too generalized to be traced as ancestral to any particular Maya glyph. Viewed on Altar 9, there is the isolated framed element "behind" the principal creature. The infix of this is the profile of an unidentified animal; but insofar as the same animal appears in the monster's belly, one might wonder if this does not symbolize the serpent-winged deity himself.

Finally, we should draw further attention to the distinctive bell-shaped earplug pendant, with its three beads, in the center of Altar 10. The identical pendant occurs on four other Kaminaljuyu low-relief monuments (specifically Stelae 1, 22, 25; and Silhouette Relief 4), all of the Arenal tradition. Furthermore, it is worn by the seated figure incised on a stone pectoral at Dumbarton Oaks (M. D. Coe 1966: fig. 7). Coe argues that its ancestral Maya text is of the time period immediately subsequent to the one we propose for Altars 9 and 10. The predecessor of this winged monster may be seen engraved on the top of boulder Monument 6 from Abaj Takalik (Fig. 11); and evolved manifestations of serpent-winged deities proliferate in Classic Maya art (Parsons 1983). The Kaminaljuyu prototypes are earth monsters representing the night-water aspect of this dualistic cosmic deity.

Altar 8 from Kaminaljuyu is a corner fragment from a carved rectangular stone that once rested on four legs (Fig. 142). The surviving leg below the extant corner is rounded, with a diameter of 17.5 cm, and height of 7.3 cm, giving a full height of 16 cm to the altar (or "throne"; see Monument 65, Fig. 149). One edge is plain and straight, the other slopes outward and is carved with a small mask and trailing scrolls. The framed top surface includes a profile dragon with toothy alveolum, and scrolled eyebrow and earplug. A series of rounded scroll motifs issue from its mouth. There is a miniature four-legged square altar from Kaminaljuyu of the same style, and with carved beveled edges, in the Nottebohm collection in Guatemala City. In the Kerdaniel collection there is a stylistically related miniature carved slab from the site (Lehmann 1968: no. 35). Both of the latter are a little over 30 cm square.

Stela 20 (Fig. 143) might actually be a fragment of a rounded altar. Note the curved border with framed and beaded ovoid elements. The relief scene on the top contains a tangled group of long-lipped profile demons and clusters of rounded scrolls. It is closer in iconography to Izapan than are most Arenal reliefs. The looped and banded head at the bottom recalls both the head of the skeletal demon on Izapa Stela 50 (Norman 1973: pl. 50), as well as a chronologically late "tumbling Danzante" at Monte Alban (Fig. 7, upper).

The first-numbered stela, or panel, at Kaminaljuyu (Stela 1; Figs. 144, 145) belongs to the early Arenal style, and was found on the northeast corner of the C-II-14 acropolis. Only about one-third of it remains; Monument 33 (Fig. 209)

may possibly be a later recarved portion of the rest of this sculpture. The front decorated surface is slightly convex, with rounded corners. A wide border frames a complex carved panel, again with rounded corners. (See Miraflores Monument 56 and the following Monument 63 for comparable paneled stones.) Extant in the configuration is a central left-facing profile dragon with down-curved snout. A scrolled mass issues from the single-toothed alveolum, below which is an awkwardly bent forelimb with an outlined lower edge and a beaded bracelet. A round earplug with another beaded, bell-shaped, pendant, is behind the head. Below this motif is the front of a probable U-shaped "belly" contour (cf. Altars 9 and 10, as well as its first appearance on Monument 2, Fig. 52). Throughout, there are supplementary wide, curved and outlined, scroll and bead motifs. There are plumelike forms above the monster's head, and at the top is a two-beaded sign with diagonal bar in a cartouche. Whether the creature was winged cannot be determined, because the right portion of the carving is not intact.

Monument 63 (Fig. 146) was excavated by the Kaminaljuyu Project in the middle of the Lower Plaza at the Palangana. It is in complete and perfect condition, except for a flake from the upper right. This large stone was deposited inside the Esperanza phase Tomb 1, beneath the floor of an enclosed shrine. It was associated in that burial with fragments of two unnumbered plain stelae and six plain columnar basalts (Map 5; and Cheek 1977: pl. 5b, fig. 63). Once again, the Middle Classic deposition of monuments in the Palangana zone clearly post-dates the style period of the sculptures. Except for the two inset, rounded-corner, carved panels on Monument 63, the horizontal stone is smoothly pecked. The upper third curves evenly from front to back (the carved panels therefore are convex; see end view to the left in Fig. 146). The shape of the sculpture suggests an original function at some other location as an architectural panel, such as a banquette or cornice.

The right carved panel (95 x 43 cm) depicts two confronting monster-masked seated figures, one grasping the wrist of the other (cf. Stela 18 at Izapa; Norman 1973: pl. 28). Only a portion of a left panel occurs on this stone, but indicates that its carved scene thematically was a mirror image of the other. Another similar block, abutting this one, would have had to exist in order to complete the left panel; one day it will perhaps turn up. The right character in the complete panel has an animal (rabbit?) death's head and a thick belt. His opponent has a strange "demon" head (monkey?) with a framed element in front of his round face. Both figures wear voluted earplugs, bracket-shaped collars, beaded-bar breast pendants, and beaded wristlets. In addition to supplementary outlined scrolls throughout, the left figure has a winglike back symbol that contains a framed *Kin* sign, sunlike rays, and a crenulated border. The right figure has a damaged, framed back symbol containing a shell-like scroll sign, perhaps representing the moon (cf. the right and left wing glyphs in the celestial serpent bird on Stela 11; Fig. 169). The seated figure, partly visible in the left panel, likewise has a large back symbol with differing infix (*Akbal?*). These framed symbols also parallel the right and left wing glyphs depicted on Altars 9 and 10, discussed above. This suggests that these anthropomorphic characters have some functional relationship to our early serpent-bird deities. (A comparable back emblem, with attached wing feathers, is found on the contemporary Stela 4 at Izapa; Norman 1973: pl. 8.) To carry speculation one step further, these could have been mythically transformed ball player adversaries with concomitant opposing day-night, sun-moon, monkey-rabbit, and life-death symbolism—all concepts intimately associated with later ball game ideology, where the players ritually sustained these cyclical cosmic events, and winged creatures carried off the sacrifices.

The damaged Stela 25 (Figs. 147, 148), excavated by the Kaminaljuyu Project in the same area, is equally important in its low-relief iconography. It was found lying face-up (with the top

pointing east) on the central surface of the atrium compound in an Amatle 2, or terminal Middle Classic archaeological context (Map 5; and Cheek 1977: pl. 5c, fig. 30), and had obviously been moved there from some earlier association at Kaminaljuyu, when the "monument plaza" was set up in the Palangana. The lower corners are broken off, the sides retain portions of their original framing borders, the top edge is damaged, and the carved surface is somewhat eroded. However, the essential images can be perceived (Fig. 148).

An upward-directed, gape-jawed, earth monster is at the lower right; seated (or emerging) above is a human figure with a broad crescent-shaped form attached at waist level. His head is apparently helmeted, and his arms are in a "boxing" pose. In the upper right corner we glimpse a downward-directed profile dragon, with a three-toothed scrolled snout (cf. the dependent flanking dragons on Altars 9 and 10). Also note the many "decorative" outlined scrolls, especially fringing the central crescent motif. The main images deserve more detailed description in that some interpretation is possible of the meaning of this whole scene, which is clearly related to other Preclassic monuments. The earth dragon is best viewed by turning the illustrations to the left; the profile monster is thus seen with its sinuous head terminating in a sharply up-turned scrolled snout. Perched "above" are the typical nose and scrolled supraorbital plate; below are flowing scrolls, a molar tooth, and a row of upward-directed teeth at the "front" of the head. Behind is its round earplug with bow knots, and other elements, above and below. The human figure above these open jaws wears an enclosing helmet with chin strap, scroll and nose bead in front, and round earplug with a beaded bell-shaped pendant. He has a circular beaded necklace, left armband, and anklets. His left knee has wide wrappings, and the horizontal crescent forms an extension of his belt.

Given the helmet, knee padding, and the dynamic posture we may assume that he is a Preclassic ball player. These features also match the carved ball player panels at Dainzu, Oaxaca (Bernal 1968), now dated to the contemporary early Monte Alban II phase, and, in turn, possibly influenced by some of these southern Terminal Preclassic styles. A variety of other probable ball game subject matter from this period supports this interpretation. On Stela 25, the ballplayer's yoke-like belt is expanded into a compressed U symbol which is a clear predecessor of the Maya moon glyph (and note the principal scroll contained within). The whole theme, therefore, may be interpreted as the birth of the moon from the underworld, in itself a symbolic ball game reference in the Classic period, and continuing right up to the legendary Popol Vuh manuscript—dealing, in part, with the diurnal cycle of moon (or Venus) and sun, and ball players being similarly transformed. Here a dragonlike earth monster ejects a ball player wearing the moon symbol in the "yoke" position as he ascends toward the hanging sky dragon. Simultaneously, this may be interpreted as a sacrificed ball player being carried on his journey through the underworld by the moon, ultimately to be reborn as sun and vegetation (cf. our analysis of Kaminaljuyu Stela 11; Fig. 169).

I offered a similar interpretation for the ascending earth serpent, with human head in its jaws, on Protoclassic Stela 4 at Abaj Takalik (Parsons 1973: 206). In addition, two earlier stelae at Izapa apparently express the same mythological symbolism. Stela 3 (Norman 1973: pl. 6) features a warrior and an upended earth dragon above whose jaws floats a canoe-shaped element containing a human head. Stela 6 (Norman 1973: pl. 12) has the same crescent form above the open jaws of a toadlike earth monster. These all could be early moon glyphs; further, the associated human heads all have forehead curls or scrolls comparable to the iconography of the later Maya moon goddess, God I. Nose beads also seem to be associated with this complex. A parallel interpretation may apply to the early Miraflores Silhouetted Relief 3 (Fig. 167). Pre-Columbian ball-game iconography, however, deserves separate monographic treatment.

A most important stone, the largest sculpture at

Kaminaljuyu (Monument 65; Fig. 149), was accidentally encountered by Guatemala City workers in July 1983 at about the junction of 30th Avenue and 6th Street, Zone 7 (not located on Map 4, but specified in the caption). The style of carving is clearly early Arenal, but the quantity of interacting figures makes it more "narrative" than most Arenal reliefs. Also there is an unusual amount of uncarved background space. On the flattened surface are three tiers of three figures each, carved in slightly raised and rounded relief accented by indentations around the edges. The central figures are seated cross-legged on beveled, four-legged thrones, and gesture with their index fingers toward the left of the composition. Each of these dignitaries is flanked by kneeling supplicating captives who hold forth their bound arms toward the enthroned personages.

Unfortunately, the lower border of the monument has flaked extensively, but we may be assured from the balanced design that in the lower register the central figure also sat on a throne, and another captive was formerly in the lower right corner. While both surfaces of this enormous basalt block were artificially flattened, the perimeters conform to the natural shape of the stone. When I recorded the monument in 1984, it was lying on temporary low supports in the patio of the National Museum. Therefore, all I can say of the opposite side is that it does have another very eroded low-relief carving, apparently a standing figure on a base panel. When that side can be properly viewed, the stone may be classified as a "stela." Whether or not the two carved sides are contemporary, this is the second instance of a local monument carved on both surfaces (cf. Stela 26).

The iconography of Monument 65 cannot yet be fully interpreted, but deserves more detailed analysis. Does it depict successive events in one ruler's life, or generations of one lineage? This is the only clear "captive" theme at Kaminaljuyu, and unlike previous sculptures could well reflect real events of the time. The four-legged thrones are duplicated by surviving stone objects of the period (e.g., Fig. 152). Also see the seated figure on such a throne on contemporary Stela 8 at Izapa (Norman 1973: pl. 16). Incidentally, this confirms the role of four-legged "altars" as thrones in the Izapan period. The postures of the central figures resemble both Monument 63 (Fig. 146) and Altar 1 (Fig. 153) at Kaminaljuyu. The latter wears a nose bead, as do all three of these throne figures.

Among the eight extant figures on Monument 65, identities are distinguished mainly by headdresses. The three central dignitaries all have the same drawn-back hair buns, plain earspools, and necklaces. However, the person in the upper register wears a cushion-shaped headdress, while the middle figure has a three-scrolled, four-beaded cartouche containing a diagonally crossed band, and the lower figure has a profile dragon headdress emitting what is probably a cacao leaf. Three of the captives seem to be naked and phallic, though two others have distinct loin cloths. In the top register, the left captive has a flamelike headdress, while the right wears a beaded turban. In the middle register, the left captive has a plumed tripartite hairdo, while the right captive wears a long-beaked bird with a serpent-framed wing behind his earspool. The final visible captive in the lower register has a tripartite hairdo surmounted by a profile dragon headdress. All three captives on the left side of the composition have special nose ornaments—the upper figure, a scroll, and the lower two figures, cigar-shaped beads.

Judging by a couple of indented finished edges, Stela 22 from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 150) might just as well be a fragment of a silhouetted-relief-type sculpture. I will discuss it here, although its stylistic features in fact crosscut the Miraflores-Arenal group. The greater part of a profile human face, with nose bead and scroll at the open mouth, is at the top of the stela; the portraiture resembles the helmeted figure on Miraflores Stela 11, and perhaps the left figure on Stela 10 (cf. Figs. 169 and 175). The figure on Stela 22 has a rounded earplug, with a bow knot and a beaded, bell-shaped attachment. His chin is contained by upside-down serpent jaws, as though the head

were emerging from them. This chin dragon has a double-voluted eye plaque and long, up-turned snout, framed by beads and crenulations. We may note here an identical serpent snout modeled on the facade of a Terminal Preclassic mound at Cerros, Belize (Freidel 1979: fig. 8), though a discussion of the various Lowland Maya comparisons will be reserved until later. Underneath, and apparently over the shoulders of the human figure on Stela 22, is an outlined biblike quatrefoil, comparable to those represented on Izapan stelae, containing two diagonal cross motifs.

It is worthwhile to mention another fragment of unknown Guatemalan highland provenience, brought to my attention by Barbara Braun (Fig. 151). This small relief, with silhouetted border, seems to be an early sun symbol enclosing an Arenal style, crouching monkeylike human figure. A similar figure from a silhouetted relief is illustrated by Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946: fig. 142b).

Altar 14 from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 152) is a corner fragment from a rectangular altar that once had four legs. The sides are beveled, and the upper scene is framed. On an outer edge is a carved dragon with a *Tau* mouth element and trailing scrolls (cf. the somewhat earlier Altar 8, Fig. 142). On the surface is a straight-jawed profile dragon with a crenulated and rayed sunlike emblem surrounding the rear, a scrolled eye and nose, and a diagonal bar falling from the mouth. Below, are other scrolls pertaining to a different incomplete image.

The inventory of the early Arenal style period at Kaminaljuyu concludes here with the broken Altar 1 (Fig. 153; and Lothrop 1926: fig. 47b). Vestiges of a projection on the underside of the intact corner prove that it was also a four-legged rectangular altar form. Recall the occurrence of the early Terminal Preclassic four-legged altars or thrones at Izapa, and also note the fragment of a small plain one at Chalchuapa, El Salvador (Monument 6; Sharer 1978, 1: 172). The eroded glyph columns and other features of Altar 1 indicate the one-century time period bracketing A.D. 1 with its numerous comparable sculptures with inscriptions that continue into the late Arenal phase.

Altar 1, encountered on the surface of the C-II-14 acropolis, portrays a pair of seated human figures in panels facing a central double-column of hieroglyphs, now too abraded to identify. Remaining on the beveled left edge are two ovoid cartouches containing *Tau* signs and separated by a leaflike motif. Overlapping the frame above these "glyphs" are the bar-and-dot numerals six and nine. The preserved seated figure on the left wears an animal (rabbit?) headdress, waistband, and fringed kilt. The "belt clasp" is shown as circular in the Tejeda drawing, but more correctly as ovoid, with a U infix, in the Miles drawing (1965: fig. 12a). From personal observation, the puffy Arenal style face has a round bead located between the raised hand and the nose. The bracelet and bifurcated scrolls resemble Izapan and other sculptures of the period. This altar is probably contemporary with Miraflores Stela 10, with its incised hieroglyphic text, although the two substyles of art are profoundly different. It also prefigures the format of the Protoclassic Arenal Altar 2 (Fig. 161).

Two comparative stelae from Abaj Takalik on the coast date stylistically to this pre-A.D. 1 era. Altar 12 (Graham, Heizer, and Shook 1978: pl. 4) displays sixteen Arenal style glyph emblems around its sides; the top, carved perhaps somewhat later than the sides, has a very eroded central glyph column faced by two human figures. The sixteen glyph motifs contain various kneeling anthropomorphic figures showing body outlining. Of decidedly early Arenal affiliation in overall character, they rest on short platform bases and have outlined curved cartouches with attached side beads and trefoil motifs above. Indeed, most Terminal Preclassic stelae at that site relate more to Kaminaljuyu than to Izapa, which is geographically much closer. The much-published, indented outlined, Stela 2 at Abaj Takalik (Thompson 1943: 110), with its Baktun 7 bar-and-dot and superimposed introducing glyph, may belong to the 50

B.C.–A.D. 1 interim. (Graham, Heizer, and Shook 1978, also favored this time range.) Fronted, significantly, by a plain round altar, the surface depicts two standing figures, with fancy feathered headdresses, facing the central calendrical glyph column. An elaborate deity, surrounded by masses of outlined scrolls, peers over the scene (see Miles 1965: fig. 9a, for a good drawing of this). Other stelae at Abaj Takalik (with the exception of Stela 3; Fig. 170), as well as the Cycle-7 dated Stela 1 at El Baul, are more comfortably assigned to the immediately subsequent Protoclassic era.

Late Arenal Low-relief Sculpture (A.D. 1–200)

Prior to examining more coastal sculpture of late Arenal style, seven type examples from Kaminaljuyu itself will be described. The first is an important silhouetted relief sculpture, which, incidentally, has some Miraflores affinities. Silhouette 4 (Fig. 154), was originally published by Kidder, Jennings, and Shook as Silhouette "X" (1946: fig. 141b). This standing "warrior" is complete, except for a wedge from his waist and lower left arm. (He is supported by a short peg base, not visible in this photograph.) As with most sculptures of this class, an indented perimeter and inner perforations outline the motifs; the reverse side is smooth-pecked, making the carving exclusively frontal. The stocky figure is poised in profile and wields a hafted axe. The lower part of the body is fringed by tight outlined scrolls, and the feathered headdress is surmounted by a serpentine dragon. He wears the looped platform sandals diagnostic of the Protoclassic period, a fringed kilt, and a belt fronted by a down-snouted "demon" with the familiar beaded bell-shaped earplug ornament. Hanging from this belt head are a bow knot and three stubby shell danglers. A rectangular death's head pectoral is attached to his collar. Also note the tripartite nose ornament, the earplug, and the wrist cuff. (Equivalent silhouetted figures, but more linear in proportions, will be discussed below under the Miraflores substyle.) The human face resembles that of the contemporary El Baul Stela 1 (Fig. 162).

Two other perforated sculptures of insecure provenience seem to be very provincial, late Arenal expressions. The first is in a Guatemalan private collection (Fig. 155). Contained within a tri-level rectangular border is a stocky, squatting, Arenal style figure with trefoil headdress, standing over a profile demon. He apparently holds a leaf-shaped incense bag (cf. Fig. 184, from the Gulf Coast). The second sculpture (Fig. 156) comes from the Sacatepequez highlands west of the Valley of Guatemala. In the lower middle, in flat and blocky relief, very abstract profile dragons are shown almost as in top view and in split profile. There is an open arch at the bottom of the monument, and a stepped and rayed motif at the top. These examples relate to a new corpus of provincial relief sculptures found at La Lagunita, El Quiche, to be discussed below. For example, the same stepped-terrace motif appears on the side of a stone sarcophagus there (Ichon 1977: fig. 46).

Other late Arenal expressions are found in a group of stelae and another altar from Kaminaljuyu; several of these have glyph columns. First is the important Stela 21 fragment (Fig. 157). All that survives is the lower mid-section, including the left frame. On the right once stood a personage facing left toward a double glyph column. Below and to the left was a crouching obeisant figure, with a puffy Arenal face, gesturing toward this personage whose visible features include a serrated kilt and a grotesque scrolled belt head with pendent bow knot and three stubby danglers with incised shell motifs. Above the belt head remains a fragment of his lower arm and elbow. The curved element here can be interpreted as a cuff, which would indicate that this arm was bent back, with the hand on the abdomen. The subservient figure wears a jaguar or deer headdress with lolling tongue. Above is an incised and beaded tassel, and also the base of a rectangular glyph column revealing a pair of unidentified incised hieroglyphs of ostensible proto-Maya style.

Stela 15 (Fig. 158) was found in 1953 between low Mounds D-III-4 and D-III-15 (about 200 meters west of E-III-3). While all edges are broken, remaining is the lower section of a stela that featured two standing human figures on a straight-line plain base, facing each other as well as a central rectangular column. The figures wear high platform sandals with looped lacings. Their lower legs also have laced gaiters and knee bows. Although the central column is erased, and there is evidence that its bottom was entirely pecked away, we may safely surmise that it once bore glyphs, as did other monuments of this period.

Fragmentary Stela 6 (Fig. 159; and Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 133f) was encountered as a reused stone in the foundation pavement of the fourth-stage summit platform of Esperanza Mound B. It shows a standing human figure leaning over an earth dragon, above a straight plain base. On the right side is a central scroll motif with outlined and beaded rays. The bent Arenal style figure has body outlining, a belt and loincloth, beaded knees and ankles, as well as bare feet. The profile earth monster faces left. The missing upper left quadrant presumably held the principal standing figure over the dragon (cf. Stela 8, Fig. 177). Stylistic details match Stela 21 from Kaminaljuyu.

Stela 18 (Fig. 160) is also fragmentary and broken, to the point that the intact portion does not allow us to ascertain whether it is the top, bottom, or side of a large panel, although the plain border (24 cm wide) suggests a base. Above this is a chevron band, with the remains of five interlaced tassels in the composition. It is impossible to say more unless or until further fragments come to light. Placement of Stela 18 and of Stela 7 (not illustrated; see Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 167b) in the late Arenal substyle, is thus only tentative. Stela 7 was badly scaled and split in two pieces when excavated in the fill of Esperanza Tomb A-V (Mound F-VI-1). We can discern only a three-part linear border on the left and traces of round scrolls within the once-carved panel.

Altar 2 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 161) can be more confidently discussed although it, too, is badly eroded. It was excavated by Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946: fig. 133d, e) in Tomb B-1 (Mound F-VI-2), into which it had fallen from the platform above. It had obviously been placed on view in Middle Classic times, though the style of the sculpture is late Arenal. It is a framed rectangular stone with two kneeling figures facing a central vertical panel. The sides of the altar are carved with continuous triangular geometric motifs, like the base line on Izapa Stela 26 (Norman 1973: 44). The figures wear elaborate headdresses; the personage on the right has a three-beaded anklet, and the one on the left has an arm bent over his abdomen (not correctly drawn in Fig. 161). It is more than probable that the central panel once was carved with hieroglyphs, though no traces remain. As Proskouriakoff observed (1950: 110, fig. 36d) this composition resembles Altar 1 at Polol in the Peten, which she suggested could be as early as Cycle 8 in the Maya area. Further, it relates to the dated Stela 5 at Abaj Takalik (A.D. 126; Graham 1977: 197), thus fitting comfortably in this Protoclassic era.

Some stelae from outlying areas should be compared with the late Arenal group at Kaminaljuyu. One of the earliest in this range, and one of the best known, is Stela 1 at El Baul on the Pacific slopes (Fig. 162), with its bar-and-dot calendrical inscription. In style alone, this carving is consonant with the 50 B.C.–A.D. 50 period, within an Arenal-Izapan tradition. The standing figure and the peering sky deity, with their puffy faces, look distinctly Arenal. The tight plain volutes about the celestial figure, and the horizontal base line with its diagonal tabbed bars and "U," relate to Izapan canons. The double column of erased glyphs to the right of the bar-and-dot column resembles the central glyph panel on Kaminaljuyu Altar 1 (Fig. 153). While the precise reading of the increasingly flaked Cycle 7 inscription has been controversial, a careful re-inspection by David Kelley and myself in 1977 strongly indicates that the 7.19.15.7.12 reading given by Michael Coe (1957) is the only possible correct one, both fitting the spacing on

the stone and leading to the required day 12 *Eb* in the Maya long-count system (A.D. 37 in the Thompson correlation).

A few other pertinent Terminal Preclassic motifs on this stela should be noted: the principal figure's staff, platform sandals, nose ornament, and elaborate headdress; the scroll-eyed demon on the upper right with braided cords below; and the downward-peering sky deity with nose bead, which is contained by a rectilinear bracket motif. While the bracket could be symbolic of a jaguar mouth, it is interesting to point out a formal relationship to the "hill" or "place" glyphs on the contemporary Monte Alban II observatory panels in Oaxaca, which also have dependent human heads. This symbolic connection may also have some bearing on the unexpectedly "Mexican" type *Malinalli* day sign used on the El Baul stela to "replace" the equivalent Maya *Eb*.

Stela 1 at Abaj Takalik (Fig. 163) is stylistically similar. Notice the same celestial bracket motif with dependent scrolled demon head to the right, the left-facing standing figure gesturing toward a short eroded glyph column, and his elaborate nose ornament. It also has a simplified basal band, but on the whole points stylistically to Kaminaljuyu-centered art rather than art from Izapa. Abaj Takalik Stela 4 has been thoroughly described elsewhere (Parsons 1973) and also belongs to the late Arenal-Izapan era, with a perhaps somewhat greater Arenal stylistic component (though its watery base line between two gape-mouthed demons is an Izapan convention). Individual motifs are clearly Protoclassic, but additional discussion here is unnecessary.

Stela 5, at the same site, published by John Graham (1977), has a terminal long-count bar-and-dot, Cycle-8 inscription (A.D. 126). Graham emphasizes the Early Maya affiliations of this important stela. In style it also fits the late Arenal-Izapan period, and has some predictable late Arenal features. The indented framed border and general composition also copy the earlier Cycle-7 Stela 2 at Abaj Takalik. Two elaborately costumed standing figures, with stubby tripartite shell belt danglers, face a central panel containing two vertical columns of numbers and proto-Maya glyphs. The right figure holds in his upward-bent arms a realistic serpent, in the manner of a later Maya ceremonial bar. The extensively flaked top zone probably displayed a celestial figure. We have already noted the formal correspondence to Altar 2 at Kaminaljuyu. Altar 13 at Abaj Takalik (Graham, Heizer, and Shook 1978: pl. 5) bears a complex, eroded, late Arenal-Izapan carving; other fragmentary stone reliefs found by Graham have bars and dots and other motifs from the same style period.

Treatment of the late Arenal tradition itself is concluded with reference to a new corpus of other Protoclassic sculptures on the fringes of the southern region. Monument 1 at El Trapiche, Chalchuapa (Sharer 1978, 1: 168, figs. 2, 3), is an important stela fragment with a proto-Maya style seated figure and four pairs of eroded glyph columns above. The posture and the probable nose bead (see Sharer's fig. 3) also suggest an Arenal style affinity. It is dated archaeologically as "Late Preclassic to Protoclassic." Likewise, Monument 1 from El Porton, Baja Verapaz (Sharer and Sedat 1973) seems contemporary. While badly scaled, that framed composition has a preserved vertical glyph column on the right, and a profile earth dragon resting on the base line. Although Sharer and Sedat claim a very early stylistic period, Norman's (1976: 313) conclusion that it is in the "Izapan" tradition (if not specifically late Arenal) seems more probable.

Additional Arenal-related reliefs are beginning to turn up in the more northerly Chiapas-Guatemala highlands, from the vicinity of El Porton, to La Lagunita (Department of El Quiche), to Chinkultic in Chiapas (see Map 3, for the location of these sites). A particularly large group of sculptured fragments—a total of about thirty, and including four carved monolithic sarcophagi—have been reported from excavations at La Lagunita (Ichon 1977). Ichon (personal communication, 1984) correctly sees two minor style variations there, and dates them to the Terminal Preclassic

and Protoclassic. The majority of reliefs are assigned to the end of his Noguta 2 complex (200 B.C.–A.D. 150), while the carvings on the sides of the rectangular sarcophagi belong to his Lililla complex (A.D. 150–350). The first group is clearly late Arenal in style, utilizing such devices as framed compositions, rounded edges to reliefs, plain scrolls, beaded rays, and facial prognathism (cf., for example, Stela 6 at Kaminaljuyu; Fig. 159). The sarcophagus reliefs utilize a carving technique that is more rectilinear, with squared edges to the relief (cf. our peripheral Kaminaljuyu perforated-relief examples; Figs. 155, 156). However, the entire La Lagunita inventory appears very provincial in relation to the central Kaminaljuyu corpus. Also, no glyphs or glyph columns appear there. The El Quiche reliefs interestingly relate in style and technique to a small group of reliefs at Chinkultic (Norman 1976: fig. 6.13), as well as to the "squared-off" qualities on Monument 1 at El Porton, mentioned earlier.

Further, several unpublished carved stelae from Sibabaj in the Salama Valley, Baja Verapaz (Robert Sharer, personal communication, 1983) raise some new questions. To me, these are provincial, if not degenerate, late Arenal style, with a few interlaced motifs that could be considered regional Early Classic (but thoroughly non-Lowland Maya).

Given this recent sculptural data, I cannot see the Alta and Baja Verapaz, or even the El Quiche, regions as a route of dissemination of the Kaminaljuyu sphere of sculptural art to the Maya lowlands, and must still favor the Motagua Valley route. (The site of El Porton, however, with its stela and glyph column, borders that valley.) The above regions, more significantly, may have been an outpost for a Transition (A.D. 200–400) sculptural tradition totally absent from the contemporary Aurora phase at Kaminaljuyu.

Early Miraflores Low-relief Sculpture (200–1 B.C.)

Detailed examination of the Miraflores development as a whole must proceed once more against the background of the entire Terminal Preclassic phenomenon. Although the Miraflores tradition of Style Division IV manifests both Izapan and Arenal influences, it stands apart as *more* proto-Maya in overall stylistic execution than the other substyles, which all have some proto-Maya content. The task of this study is to separate these "schools" of art and to indicate their distribution in time and space; extant data are insufficient to permit conclusive inferences of the cultural patterning that generated the substyles. Insofar as the Miraflores and Arenal styles coexisted at the same site, the underlying cultural questions are unusually provocative. The early phase of Miraflores art is contemporaneous with the Verbena phase at Kaminaljuyu, though there are important later Protoclassic manifestations as well. Significantly, this style is concentrated at highland Kaminaljuyu itself, with only a very few notable outlying examples at Abaj Takalik, Chocola, and Bilbao on the Pacific slopes.

Although there is no direct evidence concerning either their stylistic affiliation or the time span of their manufacture, Izapan horizon plain stelae will be considered first. If they were once painted, no traces of paint are preserved. On the other hand, in Tomb 1 at the Lower Plaza of the Palangana at Kaminaljuyu, Cheek excavated (1977: 174) a sizable rectangular slab with one broad side coated with white stucco, as though prepared for painting, and the other sides stained in red ochre. Unfortunately, this monument was not given a stela number, nor, to my knowledge, taken to the National Museum for preservation (see Map 5 for its original location next to Monument 63). In fact, only two plain stelae at Kaminaljuyu have been numbered in our inventory: Stela 24, to be discussed in its ultimate Aurora phase context, and Stela 27 (not illustrated), also excavated in the Lower Plaza of the Palangana, in the levels just above Tomb 1, and about five meters to the east. The end section of plain Stela 27 is pentagonal, with a triangular ridge along the back. Within Tomb 1 there was another (unnumbered) fragment of a plain stela. One can justifiably assume that other plain stelae and fragments have come to

light throughout the years of mound destruction at Kaminaljuyu, but they were never permanently recorded or brought to the museum. As mentioned, every Late Preclassic site with any stone monuments at all, from Tonala to Chalchuapa, is known to have a significant proportion of plain stelae. Of the some ninety stelae at the site of Izapa, sixty percent are plain. Monte Alto has over a dozen, including a few plain altars; and even Palo Gordo and Bilbao have some. We should note that the pattern of erecting plain stelae along with carved ones persists at Classic Maya lowland sites.

One other relatively plain stone at Kaminaljuyu (Monument 48; not illustrated), at present impossible to classify or interpret, is arbitrarily mentioned here, though it could be a very early sculpture. It is a long, rudder-shaped slab of green schist, found immediately south of the C-II-4 complex (see Table 4). A squared corner has an L-shaped indentation on one side, the only extant sign of carving other than its overall shaping; the other end has a rounded corner.

The early Miraflores style may be introduced with silhouetted relief sculptures, which typically have indented outlines and perforations. One of the largest and most extraordinary is Silhouette 2 (Fig. 164), excavated in 1960 by Gustavo Espinosa in the lowest levels of the C-II-4 Acropolis. According to local reports, it was associated with a burial, and was found side-by-side with two plain shafts of columnar basalt, and with Arenal sherds as the latest pottery. Unfortunately, there are no more precise contextual data on this important find. In shape it is a vertical-shafted monument with a central ring topped by a perforated triangle. The base of the supporting shaft is swollen (buried in a cement foundation in this photograph), like the following parallel monument from Santa Cruz Quiche. Circumscribing the outlined ring are four profile dragon heads with scrolls at their snouts (the one on the right can be best discerned in this photo). The triangular projection has three such low-relief dragons. Their blocky, straight-snouted forms, with exposed teeth and gums, suggest an early Miraflores style—especially when contrasted with the silhouettes and their designs that are assigned (below) to late Miraflores.

It is generally accepted (cf. Miles 1965: 262) that this stone functioned as a semi-portable ball game marker in an open playing field prior to the Middle Classic period, when formal masonry courts and horizontally tenoned markers were introduced and became commonplace. It would be comparable, then, to the composite vertical stone marker from La Ventilla at Teotihuacan, a city lacking architectural ball courts (see Easby and Scott 1970: 147). Interestingly, a small, presumably Preclassic, vertical marker with central disk was also reported from Chalcatzingo, Morelos (Cook de Leonard 1967: pl. 8), as well as others from two sites in Guerrero (Cervantes 1976: pl. 3). The latter have carved ovoid balls on the tops of rounded shafts.

I might also hypothesize that the enigmatic alignment of three megalithic drums capped by stone balls in the plaza in front of Mound 30 at Izapa (Norman 1976: 262–265) might have been scoring markers for a ball game played there. Norman's identification of the spheres with moon symbolism is not inconsistent with this interpretation. Corroborating evidence may be found in the central association of the four-legged Throne 1, just as the Preclassic Throne 2 at Izapa was reused at the end of a Late Classic ball court in Group F. Considering the location of Silhouette 2 at the base of C-II-4 at Kaminaljuyu, it might also be speculated that the Middle Classic Acropolis there, and even the Palangana, may have been constructed over Terminal Preclassic ball game playing fields.

A comparable perforated silhouetted relief sculpture (Fig. 165), apparently from Santa Cruz Quiche in the Guatemalan highlands, has been in the Museum of the American Indian since 1916. Its striated vertical shaft also has an expanded base; it may have served the same function. The central motif is a blocky profile dragon head, topped by free-cut sinuous forms, and with bundled low-relief trefoil elements below.

Other fragmentary silhouetted reliefs from Kaminaljuyu are listed for this phase, though their general function is more problematical. Silhouette 11 (Fig. 166), consists of a left-facing profile dragon with scrolled body (the tip of it is out of view at the right margin of this photo). This is presently in three pieces, with two substantial missing gaps underneath. Its rather blocky features include a straight snout, capped by a U motif and scrolled knot. More scrolls surmount the nose and the rounded-rectangle eye, while at the bottom there was once a voluted pendant. It was found in the Industrial Park district of Guatemala City, to the east of the site.

The elegant and complex Silhouette 3 (Fig. 167) is complete at the top, but incomplete at the bottom. Details are executed with fine-line incised outlining. In the upper register is a deathlike human head with scrolled earplug; a breathlike motif fans from the mouth. Underneath is a knotted ornament with two leaf-shaped tassels resembling a side motif on Kaminaljuyu Altar 1 (Fig. 153). Serving as a headdress is a compact down-snouted and scroll-eyed demon. Its squared eye-plaque has a U motif, identical to that on the Silhouette 2 dragons. Its toothy alveolum is exposed, and above the nose is a circular bead. Framing a rectangular perforation in the lower register are squared Miraflores style scrolls with flat surfaces (hence the Miraflores attribution, though the face looks Arenal). The tip of a toothed snout, extant at the lower left, suggests that the base of this composition may have been completed by an upside-down profile earth dragon; further, the flattened U-frame at the base of the upper register (holding the central head) invites conjecture that the subject matter relates to the "birth-of-the-moon-from-the-underworld" hypothesis discussed for the Arenal Stela 25 (Fig. 147).

Of the same style is the small fragment (Silhouette 7; Fig. 168) initially illustrated by Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946: fig. 142d). The piece shows a profile anthropomorphic face, and superimposed is a section of what may have been a curved loop. Atypically, this fragment was carved equally on both surfaces. It was collected by Elsie McDougall (an east coast museum benefactress and amateur archaeologist) in 1930, from a surface pit in a mound on Finca Las Charcas, just south of Finca Miraflores. In the same mound were caches of carved jade and a Teotihuacan style covered cylindrical tripod vase (cf. archival notes for object 34.147.20/3728 at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University).

Kaminaljuyu Silhouetted Reliefs 5 and 6 are also small fragments of a related style (not illustrated here; see Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 142a, c). In addition, we should note that through the years many other small fragments have been recovered from the site, fragments not only of silhouetted reliefs, but of stelae or altars in Miraflores and Arenal styles. Most of them have not been numbered and are not illustrated, but they do indicate the extent of the smashing of sculptures from the Terminal Preclassic period. Miles (1965: fig. 16b, c) illustrates two such unnumbered fragments.

Another unusual, complete silhouetted relief, now at the Popol Vuh Museum in Guatemala City, came from Abaj Takalik. Since it was illustrated and described by Miles (1965: fig. 16f), it need only be mentioned for the sake of its unexpected provenience. Significantly, not a single silhouetted relief has been found at Izapa to the west; the concept is foreign to the Izapa substyle.

The group of early Miraflores carved stelae begins with the very important Stela 11 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 169), discovered in 1957 by Edwin M. Shook in level terrain between Mounds D-III-10 and D-IV-2 (Map 4), when he re-opened a pit where Espinosa had found the three fragments of Stela 10 (the so-called black altar; cf. Fig. 175) two years previously. The fact that Stela 11 was carved of granite, rather than the usual volcanic rock, accounts for the preservation of its relief in almost pristine condition, even though it was lying face-up. It was found in situ under sealed floors, having fallen from a standing

position facing north. Careful stratigraphic notes on this excavation, courtesy of Shook, offer best evidence for dating the early Miraflores style. In brief, the Stela 10 fragments proved to be terminal Verbena or incipient Arenal phase, while the intact Stela 11 was carved earlier in the Verbena phase—thus supplying the two extremes of the 200 B.C.–A.D. 50 period, both in stylistic variation and established chronology. While Stela 10 initiates the Protoclassic Miraflores style (c. 50 B.C.–A.D. 50), Stela 11 is early Terminal Preclassic Miraflores, with added Izapan affinities (c. 200–50 B.C.).

Gustavo Espinosa's 1955 pit had reached his maximum depth of 125 cm when he pulled out the Stela 10 fragments. Shook found the carved face of Stela 11 at a depth of 146 cm, and had reached sterile volcanic ash by 200 cm. However, between 96 and 140 cm there were fourteen thin adobe and sand floors, with Stela 11 lying underneath them. According to Shook, the pottery above 125 cm had Arenal as the latest type, mixed with Verbena; he thus concluded that Stela 10 was either late Verbena or very early Arenal. That three-piece monument must have been situated within and above the adobe floors. Sparse pottery below the floors, associated with Stela 11, contained certain Verbena types and only several possible Arenal sherds. Given the clear stratigraphic separation, Stela 11 has to be somewhat earlier than Stela 10, and was doubtless carved in Verbena times.

Two other lines of evidence confirm this conclusion. Both of these monuments illustrate hafted eccentric flint axes. An identically shaped chipped flint axe head was actually placed inside the Verbena phase Tomb 1 in Mound E-III-3 (Shook and Kidder 1952: fig. 79c). Further, the pair of three-looped incense burners, with spiked sides and hour-glass perforations, represented on the base line of Stela 11, are duplicated by real ceramic censers of the same period at Kaminaljuyu. Borhegyi (1956) dated this type to the Verbena phase, although it continues into the following Arenal subphase. Lowe (1965: 56) gives concurrent dating for the same type of censer excavated at Izapa. Thus, Stelae 10 and 11 at Kaminaljuyu are as firmly fixed in chronology as is possible, with archaeological data associated with Preclassic stone monuments.

Stela 11 was briefly described by Miles (1965: 255), and discussed at some length by Norman (1976: 289–290), mainly from the standpoint of its Izapan features. My emphasis differs only in focusing on the local Kaminaljuyu Miraflores components, while acknowledging the significance of shared traits with early Terminal Preclassic Izapa—more evident on this sculpture than on most Miraflores carvings. The most obvious Izapan motifs will be summarized first: the abstract base panel with incurved side elements and central tabs is nearly identical to those on Izapa Stelae 4 and 18 and Altars 3 and 20 (Norman 1973: pls. 8, 28, 58, 60). The two incense burners described above are duplicated in every detail on Izapa Stela 24 (Norman 1973: pl. 40). The standing figure's plain winglike cape is represented also at Izapa on Stela 9 (Norman 1973: pl. 18). Other more generally shared Izapan motifs include what Norman calls the "banded bifid tongue," several varieties of profile dragons, as well as the "diving" serpent-bird deity.

In crisp relief, and in several carved planes, Stela 11 depicts an elaborately accoutered, left-facing figure standing barefooted on a terrestrial band, between a pair of "smoking" incense burners. In the celestial zone is a downward-peering serpent-bird, with a long-lipped dragon head and two serpent-framed wings of the sort described for the contemporary Arenal Altars 9 and 10 (Figs. 139–141). The top wing has an infixed St. Andrew's cross (sun?) and the feathered left wing has a voluted scroll infix (moon?). Considerable detail in the entire relief is carried out with fine incising and outlining (barely visible in our photograph). The warrior, or ball player, wears a winglike rounded stiff cape, short kilt, thick two-part belt with frontal dragon head and a long hanging "banded bifid tongue" decorated with diagonal bars and dots. A stacked series of three dragons dominate the figure's head, one of which encases

his realistic face as a helmet. His eye, nose, and nose bead appear below the level of the central long-lipped dragon helmet. Under his chin is another profile dragon mandible, with a Miraflores style squared scroll behind the curving tongue. Above the helmet is a dragon headdress with a three-leafed tropical plant motif in place of a forehead (duplicated, incidentally, in the headdress of a somewhat later proto-Maya incised pectoral [M. D. Coe 1966: fig. 7]). Behind the dragon's scrolled earplug is horizontal beaded plumage (see Miles 1965: fig. 3e–h, for good drawings of four of the Stela 11 dragon masks). The left arm of the warrior holds the hafted eccentric flint axe, and the right holds forth a ceremonial scepter. Visible on the stone (and revealed by my own rubbing of the monument) are light incisions that suggest that the scepter is tipped on both ends with feathers. Seemingly detached behind this forearm is a long flowing double tassel with circle, bar, and U markings, reaching down to the scrolled vapors of the left incense burner. The warrior's wrists and left ankle have knotted bows, while the right ankle has a different, crescent-shaped ornament. Also, the right arm has a band around the biceps. In addition to helmets, laterally differentiated arm and leg ornamentation is often indicative of a ball player's costume.

Though it is not necessary to treat every detail on this complex relief, some of the glyphlike symbols are worth noting. In addition to numerous elementary U motifs in fine incising, and the infixed celestial serpent wings, the peering dragon has a framed U glyph with attached plumes in front of its nose. An identical sign is placed in front of the nose of the vegetal headdress dragon, from which flows a graceful thin bifurcated scroll. In the same position, in front of the helmet dragon, is a plumed glyph of the type described for Altars 9 and 10 as a prototype for *Akbal,* the Maya sign for night. The helmet's large squared earplug contains another St. Andrew's cross (*Kin?*) and has a three-part tassel similar to the tongue finial on the belt dragon. The four glyphic signs above have cartouches with beaded corners. The belt dragon has a tabbed U symbol behind its jaws, and on the warrior's kilt is one-half of a generic scrolled cartouche enclosing an incised U. The U motif itself has combined earth-jaguar-moon-fertility connotations. Despite certain borrowing from Izapan iconography, this stela demonstrates the introduction of Miraflores, if not even proto-Maya, canons in the highlands.

To speculate further, the terrestrial rectilinear "crescent" forming the basal band may alternatively symbolize the moon, and its central "incisor" tabs the associated Mesoamerican rabbit. Thus, the "night" ball player (cf. *Akbal*) "standing on the moon" (cf. basal band) is also the progenitor of vegetation (cf. helmet headdress) and sun (cf. top serpent-bird wing). The celestial serpent bird will carry the "reborn" sun through its daily voyage (cf. Altar 20 at Izapa; Norman 1973: pl. 60). This composition, therefore, in contrast to Stela 25 (Fig. 148), can be interpreted as the "death of the moon." Some of these earlier Preclassic themes, significantly, deal with the underworld, also a later preoccupation with Classic Maya art. However, full exposition of the complexities of Mesoamerican ball game symbolism are beyond the scope of this volume.

Not surprisingly, Abaj Takalik on the coast yields a stylistically related stela fragment (Stela 3; Fig. 170). (For other illustrations, see Miles 1965: figs. 8g, 16g; Parsons 1967a: fig. 7b). The existing lower half displays a single standing, left-facing, personage on a bordered base panel. This stela, like Kaminaljuyu Stela 11, is unframed. The concept of the terrestrial panel is Izapan, but the style of the rest is Miraflores. The tripartite base panel is flanked by two inward-directed profile dragon heads with lobe-tipped snouts; the central motif is a glyphlike sign with tabs and scrolls above, and a U symbol within (like the kilt sign on Stela 11). I have suggested elsewhere (Parsons 1973: 210) that this may be a generic prototype for the Maya Initial Series introductory glyph. The human figure seems to be barefooted, though Miles (who discovered the stela near Monument

6) pointed out (personal communication, 1963) that original red pigment on the feet below the pecked ankle lines connoted socks, analogous to the netted socks on Stela 24 at Izapa—the one with the three-looped incense burners. Above the knees are knotted garters. The only other visible adornment is the base of a belt head on the left, below which falls a thin spiral with three graceful sinuous scrolls. The beaded cartouche with U infix at the end of one scroll is identical to the nose symbol with thin bifurcated scrolls, on the headdress dragon of Stela 11, Kaminaljuyu.

The large Stela 26 (detail photo, Fig. 171) was found in two separated pieces, by the Kaminaljuyu Project, in the Lower Plaza of the Palangana (see Map 5, for precise provenience). Both sections were lying in the upper levels of the shrine-atrium compound, associated with other secondarily deposited Preclassic monuments including the early Arenal Stela 25. The larger lower portion was centered above the front of Tomb 1, and the plain upper third was located about four meters to the southeast. An Izapan-derived base panel (shown in the photograph), in an excellent state of preservation, is on the front of the stela. Below it is the smooth-pecked supporting stela base, 68 cm long. However, the entire scene above this terrestrial band had been deliberately pecked away, leaving only the faintest traces of a narrow framing border, as well as indications that the whole front once bore elaborate low-relief carving. In relation to the other stelae under discussion, the style period must be early Miraflores; but all that is left to discuss is the base panel. Immediately below it is a plain raised band of about the same width. The form of the carved base panel is a framed rectangle with incurved scrolls, of the same general nature as that on Stela 11. The central scrolled trefoil sign looks like an upside-down variant of the corresponding symbol on Stela 3 at Abaj Takalik. In addition, underlining the top frame are thin, abbreviated, presumably inward-directed, serpent mouth "signatures."

Curiously, two parallel bands are at the same level as the base panel on the reverse side of the stela. Defacing rectangular indentations on that side suggest that it was also once carved and ceremonially destroyed. If so, this would be a rare southern Preclassic stela carved on both faces—as most Lowland Maya stelae came to be. The original stela must have been of considerable symbolic importance to have been so thoroughly obliterated in later times, save for the "Izapan" base panel.

Stela 12 (Fig. 172), of unknown site provenience at Kaminaljuyu, relates to the previous group. All that remain, however, are its terrestrial motifs and its plain pecked base. As in Stela 26, there is a narrow border frame, a bit of which can be seen on the left. Also, the designs bear fine-line incising. A double horizontal row of hooked motifs may represent water. A profile earth dragon, with exposed toothed alveolum and fang, rests above. In front of the snout are three flamelike motifs (i.e., the generic Mesoamerican "burning water").

"Stela" 28 (Fig. 173) in a Guatemalan private collection, is the upper portion (perhaps a third) of what was probably a wall panel in early Miraflores style. It has traces of red paint, and the edges are framed by a convex border. In the top center, within a scalloped panel, is a dragon monster of highly distinctive configuration. The area below, however, was once again intentionally effaced. Most obvious to the viewer is the left-facing animal head with tripartite eyebrow, and jaw with three front teeth backed by a fang and curved upper lip (identical to the image on Stela 12, and the upper-right head on Stela 10). Directly underneath is a separate dragon mandible, like the chin dragon on Stela 11. Below this is a trefoil emblem, while in front of the snout is a U "glyph" with beaded trefoil and bifurcated scrolls, also reminiscent of the dragon nose emblems seen on Stela 11. Behind this central head is the rounded-square earplug with bow knots above and below; and extending to the right is a scrolled serpent profile, framing what must be intended as a wing (cf. the comparable motif on the right captive in the middle register of Monument 65, Fig. 149).

Under this is a clawlike motif. The whole, then, forms an unusual composite celestial "serpent-bird" deity.

One additional relatively aberrant sculpture, of unknown function, is illustrated (Monument 56; Fig. 174). It is in the shape of a rounded square, though only a portion of the scallop-incised curved border remains intact. Within a rounded rectangle frame is a simple broad scroll of the same form. The stone is comparable to some parallel Arenal sculptures with scenes in similar panels (cf. Stela 1 and Monument 63). Because of the scroll type (cf. the central scroll over the torso on Stela 11, Fig. 169), this example is assigned to the Miraflores tradition. It was found in 1950, next to a low mound between Mounds E-III-3 and D-III-1 (Map 4).

The elegant but fragmentary Stela 10 (also known as the "black altar") inaugurates the Protoclassic facet of the Miraflores tradition, also reflected in Protoclassic pottery to be mentioned later. (See Fig. 175 for a drawing, and Miles 1965: fig. 13 for a photograph, as well as fig 3a–c for three detailed sketches.) The excavation data cited above for Stelae 10 and 11 suggested that Stela 10 dates to the 50 B.C.–A.D. 50 Verbena-Arenal boundary, contemporary with the various southern Cycle 7 inscribed monuments. The three fragments of the black altar were found by Espinosa in 1955, at the spot where Shook later discovered the complete Stela 11 only a meter away and at a slightly lower level. Fortuitously, one other tiny fragment, which proved to join the three main pieces, had been discovered five years before in square B-II at the site, some 700 meters to the northwest (information courtesy of Edwin M. Shook).

Although smashed and partially defaced before deposition, the low relief on Stela 10 is marvelously preserved (probably a function of the raw material, a very hard and fine-grained black volcanic basalt). Considering the extreme thickness of the stone (about one meter), it probably functioned as a horizontal altar rather than as a stela or wall panel. The surface carving is very precisely rendered in complex detail, with fine-line incising, cross-hatching, and so forth. The top and side borders show multi-lined framing, with a mat-design outer margin. Three left-facing images are preserved in the composition: a disembodied, full-bearded, anthropomorphic jaguar head in the upper right, a (kneeling?) old woman with pendulous breast beneath, and a standing warrior with raised axe in the upper left. In front of the last two figures are framed, glyphlike symbols with pendent trefoils, topped by numerical bars and dots ("8" and "7," respectively). Between the woman and her large "8-jaguar day sign" are four vertical columns of (presumably ancestral Maya) hieroglyphs that supply an extremely early and long text, as yet undecipherable.[8] Unlike the rest of the relief, these tiny glyphs are engraved directly on the flat background by very delicate incising. One might conjecture that if the main relief had been carved closer to 50 B.C., this inscription could have been added to the stone as much as a century later.

Why the stone was broken and defaced at this time is another mystery. Perhaps all of the destruction of Terminal Preclassic sculpture cannot be attributed to the later Teotihuacan intruders; internal political and religious disruptions, possibly related to the rise or intensification of dynastic society in the south, could have occurred during the Protoclassic itself—when these southern groups may also have become increasingly competitive with developing dynasties in the Maya lowlands. The simultaneous appearance of dates, day signs, and texts on stone supports such an inference. Conceivably, the coexistent Miraflores and Arenal substyles of art were commissioned by two very competitive moieties or dynasties. Note that Arenal Altar 1 (Fig. 153), presumably contemporary with Miraflores Stela 10, is profoundly

[8] The late Heath-Jones analyzed this inscription (Miles 1965: ftn. 11) and orally presented her material at two professional meetings, one in 1957 (Society for American Archaeology, Utah) and again in 1974 (International Congress of Americanists, Mexico City); but her findings were never published beyond the short conference abstracts.

different in style, though both bear bar-and-dot numbers and hieroglyphic texts. Did the Arenal faction mutilate Miraflores monuments, while the Miraflores faction was increasingly aligning itself with the Maya lowlands?

As Miles (1965: 255–256) has adequately described the principal motifs on Stela 10, I will merely summarize the highlights. The upper right bearded and fanged head has a mouth scroll, a fanged "nose mask," and a serpent-tied headdress with extended bifurcated scrolls. At the front, as well as in the ear position, are differing "cartouched" U emblems, replicated on other Terminal Preclassic sculptures (see Parsons 1973: figs. 3, 4). Streaming off behind are wavy foliated motifs (duplicated on the contemporary carved bones at Chiapa de Corzo [Agrinier 1960]). The female underneath once wore a nose bead, though her head and her offering (trophy head?) held out by both arms are almost completely defaced. Under the bare breast are torso bands, and about the waist is a thick belt containing rounded squares, tied below with a cord. In addition, there is a large rear belt head of fanged and horned anthropomorphic form. Miles (1965: fig. 3a, d) correctly compares this with the front belt head on the Chocola stela male figure (to be discussed next). Isolated to the right is the vestige of a possible winged serpent (again comparable to Chocola). The principal male figure on Stela 10 wields a hafted eccentric flint axe, with a looped cord through a perforation in the handle. A nearly identical axe, with similar perforated handle, is represented on Stela 11; such a hooked, chipped flint was excavated from a clear Verbena context. The Stela 10 figure has a nose bead, foliated eyes (also found on the two trophy heads on the Chocola stela), a tufted "false beard," and a supplementary dragon mask, with forelimb, on the head above the "Quincunx" earplug (for a detail drawing of this as well as the little mask on the thigh, see Miles 1965: fig. 3b, c). His three-part belt is fronted by an incomplete monster head, and he wears a massive plumed and beaded cape, once more like the Chocola example.

Matching Stela 10 in style, content, and fine details of execution, is the small (only about 60 cm in width) Miraflores style stela fragment from Chocola on the Pacific slopes, north of Palo Gordo (Fig. 176; Map 3). This was excavated by Robert Burkitt in the late 1920s, and brought back to the University Museum, Philadelphia, where it may be seen today. The greater part of the central left-facing standing figure is visible, though none of the edge sections remain; the piece has been broken and the interstices restored with plaster. This skirtless personage is backed on both sides by a feathered cape with tufted beads, and his belt and belt head are nearly identical to those of the woman on Stela 10, though this mouth is surrounded by a cartouche. Below the belt is a long tassel and possibly a loincloth. The figure's head, with incised almond-shaped eye and special cheek markings, is enclosed by a large upended, fanged and scrolled, dragon-profile headdress with a six-pointed earplug. In the crook of his left arm is a damaged human trophy head that resembles the front Maya composition on the fifth century A.D. Stela 31 at Tikal, with its attendant southern-derived Mexican features (W. R. Coe 1965a: 33). Another damaged, inward-facing trophy head, with trefoil emblem below, is held out in his right hand. All three human heads have incised rudimentary beards. It may be speculated that this is another ball player. This important relief is replete with U symbols like both Stelae 10 and 11 at Kaminaljuyu; it also has a serpent-bird image on the right side of the cape, complete with serpent-framed wing. (Clearly, the tapered element, in plaster, below the bird head, is incorrectly restored.) Motivations for the damages to this stone may be identical to those inferred for the damages to Stela 10.

While the site of Chocola is located between Kaminaljuyu and Abaj Takalik, there is evidence of pure Miraflores art as far away as the Central Depression of Chiapas, specifically in the instance of two elaborately carved human femurs from a Horcones phase tomb at Chiapa de Corzo (Agrinier 1960). That tomb and phase, appropriately,

are now dated to 100–1 B.C. (Lee 1969: 3), though in Agrinier's excellent descriptive report they were then dated one century later. In either case, this comparison provides corroborative archaeological dating for Kaminaljuyu Stela 10. The style and technique of carving, although in a more pliable medium, are comparable to those of that stela at Kaminaljuyu: the wavy foliated motifs, bearded anthropomorphic demon heads, and profile long-snouted dragons with exposed teeth (some of the dragons with attenuated forelimbs), resemble those of the headdress dragon on the main figure of Stela 10. One wonders if these bones were not ritual importations from Kaminaljuyu itself?

Late Miraflores Low-relief Sculpture (A.D. 1–200)

In the Protoclassic era, corresponding to the Arenal ceramic subphase, additional Miraflores style stelae and silhouetted reliefs from Kaminaljuyu may be defined; these become progressively more Early Maya with their emphasis on single standing figures of linear proportions, and with proto-Maya accouterments.

Stela 8 (Fig. 177) relates, in its complex configuration, to the previous Stela 10 and is probably no later than A.D. 50. While site provenience is unknown, it also relates in subject matter to the contemporary late Arenal Stela 6 (Fig. 159), though the existing figures on the latter face in the opposite direction. The large Stela 8 fragment is excessively pecked and damaged, so that the details are impossible to interpret. Nevertheless, the multi-lined and mat-decorated border is identical to that on Stela 10. What can be perceived of the original composition is a kneeling obeisant figure, facing right, in the lower left corner. In front of him, on the base line, is a right-facing profile earth monster with rear scrolls and a rectilinear jaw. Standing on this is the principal figure, though it is not clear which direction he faces (Miles [1965: 256] supposed it was to the right). He seems to hold a staff to his left side, but to the right of his head are wavy trefoil elements, like those appended to the "day signs" in front of two figures on Stela 10. There is also a massed design, too eroded to recognize, in the upper left quadrant.

A final group of elegant silhouetted reliefs, all of them left-facing, may be assigned to the late Miraflores tradition. Silhouette 1 (Fig. 178) is the broken mid-section of a single standing skirtless human figure reported by Lothrop (1926: fig. 48) as having been found on Finca Miraflores, west of Mound C-IV-4 according to our estimation (Map 4). There is a thick, diagonally banded belt about his waist and above his bare thighs. Attached to the front is a profile dragon head with the prevalent pendent trefoil symbol and large knotted bow. Another upside-down dragon head serves as a bustle, below which is a serpentine body with scalloped markings, following the curvature of the buttocks and leg. Attached is a projecting scroll or U motif, as found in Silhouette 4 (Fig. 154). Silhouette 10 (Fig. 179) is a similar fragment, this time of the lower leg, broken at the knee and ankle, of a standing human figure. The extreme left and right margins are original pecked edges to the sculpture. Note the incised curve at the back of the knee and the extensive fine outlining of motifs. The notched anklet is equivalent to the treatment of the skirt fringes on the Arenal Altar 1 as well as Silhouetted Relief 4 (Figs. 153, 154), and therefore it might be equally comfortably assigned to that substyle. As on Silhouette 1, the leg is backed by a downward-directed dragon mask with upturned snout, probably suspended from a bustle.

Silhouette 12 is a small fragment that has been in the National Museum of Guatemala since 1963 (Fig. 180, lower). All that can be made of it is its knotted double tassel and crossed straps, as well as its general style attribution. The right and left sides are the original silhouettes, though its position within a larger figure is problematical. Silhouette fragment 13 (Fig. 180, upper) was a miscellaneous surface find by the Kaminaljuyu Project in the northwest district. It seems to portray a small profile cross-legged figure deco-

rated with beaded featherwork. It sits on a mat-design platform—a symbol of rulership? like the borders on Stelae 8 and 10—over a peg base to the sculpture.

Silhouetted Relief 8 (Fig. 181) is one of the most impressive of this series, even though the two fragments of it only depict the upper thigh to the pedestal base of an almost life-sized standing human figure. Most of the systematic destruction of these sculptures seems to have been directed to the upper halves. These pieces were found together in the large Mound C-III-11 when that earthwork, of secure Arenal ceramic phase, was demolished in the early 1960s (see Map 4, for its location directly south of the Acropolis and Palangana district). Joya Hairs and Suzanne Miles recovered the fragments and presented them to the National Museum in Guatemala. (Since we numbered the leg section Silhouette 8 and the foot section 9, before deciding that the two probably once joined near the ankle, there is no Silhouette 9 in our present numbering.) Represented in these pieces is an elite personage wearing the loop-laced platform sandals common to the period. Hanging from the bustle are three tiers of plumes with tasseled circular beads. Incised on the upper thigh is what appears to be the beaded fringe to a short kilt. In front is the end of a rounded bow, which must be the base of a former belt head. The indented ankle cuff matches that on the wrist of Silhouette 4 (Fig. 154). The foot section shows a knotted and beaded bow above the sandal, the sole of which has an incised mat design; above the toe is a trace of a former scroll.

We propose that this and the following two monuments, with related features, date to the second century A.D., the end of the Terminal Preclassic Miraflores sequence in the Southern Maya area. Further, they have definite mid-8th Cycle, Early Maya, characteristics. In addition to the smashed monuments, indication of troubled times is suggested by the warrior with *atlatl* on Stela 2 which, significantly, was followed by a two-century hiatus in stone carving at Kaminaljuyu. (See discussion in Part Two.)

It is rare when two parts of a broken sculpture, found at widely different times and places, can be rejoined. Yet a second instance is found in Stela 2 at Kaminaljuyu (see Fig. 182 for a reconstruction of the two fragments). The lower piece (originally designated Stela 2) was reported by Lothrop (1926) as coming from the southeast corner of Mound C-IV-8, though he said it had been moved there from another mound to the northeast (1926: 150). The upper fragment turned up about twenty years ago and was first designated Stela 14 by Miles, a stela number, like Silhouette 9, now deleted from our numerical series. She was later to recognize that the two pieces belonged to a single life-sized, left-facing, standing human figure on the same monument, and published them as such (1965: fig. 17b; unfortunately the leg and torso photographs were not correctly aligned). While the lower part has suffered more erosion, the two sections are of identical workmanship and thickness, and show the continuation of the same details—despite the absence of a connecting slice of stone.

This ornately costumed warrior is carved in low relief on a plain, unframed, background; Monument 42 from Bilbao (Fig. 183), a stela contemporary with this piece, also lacks a framing border. The upper fragment of Stela 2 depicts a bent left arm beneath a short feathered shoulder cape. A diagonal device over the shoulder indicates that his left hand held an *atlatl,* a relatively early depiction of this weapon in Mesoamerican art. On his back is a large beaded and feathered rectangular rack, which extends well behind the thigh on the lower fragment. Within this back rack is a central abstract profile demon mask, as well as rounded rectangular scrolls. The skirtless left thigh and leg shows a beaded garter below the knee, identical in all respects to those depicted on Monument 42 from Bilbao. The tiers of beaded feathers immediately behind probably fall from a separate bustle. Conceivably his right leg was also represented, having been broken off just above the visible knee. In addition, the figure's waist was decorated with unknown elements on the front, and possibly an

upside-down crested head on the back, from which hang two pairs of beaded plumes.

The very comparable Monument 42, excavated in 1963 at Bilbao, Escuintla, on the Pacific slopes (Fig. 183) has been published in detail (Parsons 1967a). Unfortunately, the upper half of this otherwise perfectly preserved granite stela was never found, possibly having been smashed and scattered. However, in the same sculpture dump, the corner of a plain rectangular altar was found, carved from the same granite (Parsons 1967a: fig. 4), as well as fragments of other plain stelae. Above the uncarved supporting base is a rectangular framed terrestrial panel that contains a right-facing profile dragon of general Izapan mode. However, the right-facing skirtless figure standing over this (and broken at waist level) is entirely of late Miraflores, if not Early Maya, style. It can be assigned with some assurance to a provincial extension of the Protoclassic sculptural tradition established at Kaminaljuyu, just as was the Chocola stela and Abaj Takalik's Stela 3 somewhat earlier in the Terminal Preclassic period. Some salient features include loop-laced platform sandals, beaded anklets, beaded garters, tiered and beaded plumes under a presumed bustle, and a profile trophy-head demon attached at the front of the waist. Below this and a knotted bow, are three linear shell pendants of Early Maya style and proportions; in front of the belt head are unequal bifurcating scrolls comparable to examples on Stela 10 at Uaxactun in the Peten (see Parsons 1967a: fig. 9e, f; and Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 36e, f). In 1950, this Uaxactun monument, which also may be dated stylistically to the outset of the second century A.D., was considered the earliest Lowland Maya stela.

Comparative Material, Terminal Preclassic (200 B.C.–A.D. 200)

Because of the significance of Style Division IV (Izapan-Arenal-Miraflores) for the origins of Classic Maya art and iconography, the corpus warrants a separate review of comparative data from southeastern Mesoamerica. This section will accordingly establish the broader geographical, cultural, and stylistic context for all the Preclassic monuments described for Kaminaljuyu, and for the large body of material from Izapa, in addition to the examples from other Pacific Coast sites.

One early Terminal Preclassic stela in Izapan style, not yet mentioned, is that from El Jobo, just east of the Chiapas-Guatemala border (see Shook 1965: fig. 1f; and our Map 3). Although badly flaked, it presents an abstract Izapan celestial band, a left-facing figure holding a demon-finial staff in his right hand, and a suspended trophy head with hanging hair in his left. In the lower left corner is a tiny decapitated obeisant figure. Projecting from the headdress of the principal figure is a glyph emblem with bifurcated scrolls reminiscent of one on Kaminaljuyu Stela 11. Further, several low-relief sculpture fragments from Chiapa de Corzo and from Chinkultic (Norman 1976: figs. 6.19, 6.13), both in the Chiapas highlands north of Izapa, are in the Izapa style. Being the only southern examples, this indicates that the geographical sphere of influence from Izapa itself was quite limited. Even the Chinkultic stones may be more Arenal-related. However, generic Izapan influence may be perceived from the Gulf Coast, to Abaj Takalik, to Kaminaljuyu.

During the century surrounding the birth of Christ, we have four Izapan horizon monuments in the Peripheral Coastal lowlands and adjacent highlands bearing Cycle 7 bar-and-dot calendrical dates: Stela C at Tres Zapotes (32 B.C.), Stela 2 at Chiapa de Corzo (37 B.C.), Stela 2 at Abaj Takalik (probably the last half of the first century B.C.), and Stela 1 at El Baul (A.D. 37). (See M. D. Coe 1976, for a relatively recent review of these.) Stela 5 at Abaj Takalik has an early Cycle 8 inscription (A.D. 126; Graham 1977); its carved relief also fits that style period, as discussed above in the context of late Arenal monuments. The famous little "Tuxtla Statuette" from southern Veracruz, in the National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C., bears the later Protoclassic bar-and-dot inscription correlating to A.D. 162. Further, there

are a dozen monumental stone sculptures in the southern region that bear columns of numbers or hieroglyphs, even where many are eroded beyond recognition. In addition to the examples noted above, there are five at Kaminaljuyu itself: Miraflores Stela 10, Arenal Altars 1 and 2, as well as Stelae 15 and 21. Stela 1 at Abaj Takalik has a glyph column, as does Monument 1 at El Porton, Baja Verapaz. Monument 1 from El Trapiche, El Salvador, has eight vertical glyph columns.

The large El Porton example (Sharer and Sedat 1973) is a framed, but scaled, stela with a column of angular glyphs next to the right margin. On the base line is a left-facing profile dragon with rounded earplug and scroll. Although Sharer and Sedat date this example to the late Middle Preclassic, I assign it stylistically to the late Terminal Preclassic era. The same site also has plain stelae. On the eroded El Trapiche Monument 1 fragment (Sharer 1978), a human figure is seated below the four pairs of glyph columns. As drawn by Sharer, the style of that figure resembles the incised seated person (also associated with a hieroglyphic text), incised in Protoclassic times on the reverse of a reused Olmec style greenstone pectoral from the Maya area, now at Dumbarton Oaks (M. D. Coe 1966). It has an elaborate headdress, apparently a nose bead, a knotted bow at the shoulder, three-beaded wristlet (like the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral), and holds an animal trophy-head offering. This carving surely belongs to the late Terminal Preclassic period. We have also cited late Arenal style stones (without inscriptions) at La Lagunita, El Quiche, in the Guatemalan highlands (Ichon 1977).

For other Protoclassic examples of inscriptions in southeastern Mesoamerica, mostly incised on portable stone objects, the review by Michael Coe (1976) is invaluable. To his list should be added an important incised tubular jade bead from the "Cenote of Sacrifice" at Chichen Itza (Proskouriakoff 1974: pl. 45, fig. 12). Appended to a horizontal row of U emblems at the top, the jade has a vertical inscription with a possible Initial Series introducing glyph (or at least the *Tun* sign), and five other glyphic positions below. Proskouriakoff was skeptical that this is a calendrical inscription, but in style it is certainly Protoclassic, if not specifically late Miraflores. Therefore, for the period 50 B.C.–A.D. 200 there is now a large group of examples of proto-Maya texts (including those on the Tuxtla Statuette), the majority of which occur in the Southern Maya area, or seem inspired from that area. Most of them also appear to be ancestral Maya, though other archaic forms of writing could have existed as well—such as the known Preclassic Zapotec system. Michael Coe, for example, does not accept the incised text on Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 as Maya, though he accepts the priority of its time of carving (1976: 115). The miscellaneous texts and glyphs on portable objects from the Maya lowlands seem to postdate A.D. 50, as does Altar 1 at Polol in the Peten, with its central eroded glyph panel.

It is appropriate to cite a few early Protoclassic decorated vessels that mirror the monumental arts of the Izapan period and probably go back to 50 B.C. in style. Small portable stone objects and ceramics probably had a seminal role in the diffusion of both art styles and early writing systems. The spouted pottery bowl from La Isla, Tabasco (Stirling 1957: pl. 66) has an elaborately carved rectangular panel with an upended profile dragon and masses of rounded scrolls of highland Guatemalan style. There is also a large Protoclassic carved celt from nearby Rio Candelario (Stirling 1957: pl. 69). A carved stone vase at Dumbarton Oaks (Willey 1974: pl. 177), of unknown provenience, bears two nearly identical sinuous serpent monsters, with profile dragon heads on the circumference; their style and incised details match the Miraflores "black altar" at Kaminaljuyu. Also, an extremely complex carving on a spouted stone bowl in a private collection (M. D. Coe 1973: 26–27) duplicates the style of the same altar, to the point that Coe conjectures that the object came from Kaminaljuyu. The layout of its two contorted figures also resembles the Horcones phase carved bones at Chiapa de Corzo. One of the figures has serpent-winged arms like the wing

shown on the Chocola stela. Given the five proto-Maya glyphs on its spout, this bowl may date closer to A.D. 50.

I want to summarize the major sculptures of Terminal Preclassic affiliation in the southern Gulf Coast and Oaxaca regions before looking at the contemporary Maya lowland manifestations. In the Monte Alban Zapotec sphere, some of the "swimming" and "tumbling" Danzante slabs may belong to the early Monte Alban II phase (Scott 1978), as do the ball player wall panels at nearby Dainzu, which demonstrate specific Izapan influences. Izapan-inspired decorated pottery also occurs in Oaxaca (cf. Easby and Scott 1970: no. 77; and Parsons 1980: no. 266).

On the Gulf Coast, it is mainly Tres Zapotes that seems to perpetuate a long sculptural tradition, with southern Izapan affiliation in its low reliefs. The very eroded Stela A has mask panels above and below, and three standing figures in the middle (Stirling 1943: fig. 3). One of them carries a trophy head by the hair, recalling the El Jobo stela. Stela B at Tres Zapotes is plain. Stela C is the bar-and-dot dated monument, with an Izapan mask panel carved on the reverse side. It was coupled with a plain stone altar.

Stela D, I am convinced, also belongs to this Izapan period. (See Norman 1976: fig. 6.4, for a good National Geographic Society photograph; and Parsons 1967a: fig. 8c, for a drawing of one of the scrolled side dragons.) The fundamental concept of this sculpture, consisting of a large open monster jaw, with humans within and a ledgelike base, extends back in time to Monument 2 at Izapa (Fig. 13). However, at Tres Zapotes we have a low-relief narrative scene in the mouth, with a horizontal peering figure above and three interacting human figures below. The two standing figures wear skirts and have rounded stiff capes that are identical to the contemporary Stela 11 at Kaminaljuyu. Moreover, the profile dragons on both outer edges of the monument (Stirling 1943: pl. 14) depend from Izapan scrolled "celestial" bands. These bands are identical to one on Izapa style Stela 4 at Chiapa de Corzo (Norman 1976: fig. 6.19a). Also, the incised tandem scrolls leading from these dragon snouts are thoroughly Izapan in character. In addition, Monument C at Tres Zapotes (Stirling 1943: pls. 17, 18), the large stone box with multiple outlined scrolls and intervening human figures, is generally accepted as belonging to this style period.

One further Gulf Coast monument, in the Mexican National Museum for many years but lacking site provenience, deserves to be published (Fig. 184). This, too, depicts a low-relief scene on the palate of a full-round monster. The eye of the upended animal head can be seen on the far right, as well as the tooth row bordering the standing skirted figure within its jaw. While the style seems essentially Izapan, the form of the human eye, headdress, and incense bag relate more specifically to the group of stelae at Cerro de las Mesas, Veracruz. Many of the latter (see Stirling 1943: figs. 10–12) show curiously archaistic style traits, though most are Early Classic, and even post-A.D. 400. They generally have left-facing figures gesturing toward glyph columns, in the manner of the earlier El Baul Stela 1. Stelae 6 and 8 at Cerro de las Mesas, have calendrical dates translating to A.D. 468 and 533, respectively. Two other especially early-looking stelae (Cerro de las Mesas 9 and 14; Stirling 1943: figs. 11a, 12a), however, probably belong somewhere in the Terminal Preclassic Izapan horizon, as should the monument in Figure 184.

Several well-known Gulf Coast monuments definitely belong to the later half of the Terminal Preclassic and have demonstrable Protoclassic features. Monument 2 at Angel R. Cabada (El Meson), Veracruz, is an enormous stela that is probably very early Protoclassic (see Covarrubias 1957: fig. 68; and Drucker 1968: pl. 1). This unframed composition features a lavishly costumed and plumed central figure facing a seated obeisant personage to his right. He stands on a terrestrial dragon mask with rectilinear attachments reminiscent of the monster mask on Stela C, Tres Zapotes. Flanking the El Meson mask are Izapan profile dragons. Drucker (1968) tried to

argue that this stela is conventionally Early Classic, but I fully agree with the extensive stylistic analysis of Scott (1977: 106–112), which substantiates its Protoclassic and southern Izapan characteristics.

Two other Veracruz stelae, "Matisse" and Tepatlaxco (Map 3), are probably later in this Protoclassic sequence. In some respects they anticipate the Classic Veracruz or "El Tajin" style, though the proportions and postures of the human figures relate to late Miraflores. The small "Matisse" stela, now in Tucson, Arizona (Easby and Scott 1970: no. 61) depicts a crisply carved and incised figure with pointed beard, standing over an incised profile Izapan mask in a base panel. His lower hand seems to hold an *atlatl* (cf. Stela 2, Kaminaljuyu), which leads me to say that there is no reason to continue to believe that this device was exclusively a Central Mexican invention. The posture and details of execution match the next stela from Tepatlaxco.

The Tepatlaxco stela has an unusual scene of a standing ball player being accoutered by a bending attendant to his left (Fig. 185). The horizontal base panel here is of a generic abstract Izapan design, with diagonal bars and double *Tau* elements—a terrestrial signature that has a long history in Peripheral Coastal lowland sculpture, dating from the Post-Olmec period (e.g., the Alvarado column [Fig. 8], found nearby). The top horizontal panel, also abstract, is, however, of more specialized character, but the diamond-and-dot motif is duplicated on the contemporary jade bead mentioned from Chichen Itza as an affix to the next-to-last glyph (Proskouriakoff 1974: fig. 12.1). The principal figure has a pointed beard, multiple-beaded necklace, heavy wrapped waist padding over a kilt, footgear, and arm and knee padding. His lower right arm and right knee are most heavily protected, indicating that he is being prepared to play the ball game. The attendant is shown tying the hip cords over the protective padding.

A famous carved circular slate plaque (Easby and Scott 1970: no. 141) is generally considered to be the terminal Classic Veracruz style (and such plaques, or mirror-backs, are predominantly of Early and Late Classic period in Mesoamerica). However, the distinctive sharp facial features and pointed beard (and the necklace) on this are identical to the visages on the last two Protoclassic stelae. The rather free-form incised scrolls on the perimeter could equally well be Izapan-derived, and "proto" Classic Veracruz in style, such as the scrolls on the Monte Alban II spouted vase from Oaxaca (Parsons 1980: no 206). If so, this is one of the earliest, rather than the latest, circular slate plaques, dating to the second century A.D. In the subsequent Early Classic period the diagnostic squared, interlaced, El Tajin scroll type emerged, frequently associated with ball game iconography. Further evidence for proto-Tajin art comes with ball game paraphernalia. Many of the acknowledged early stone *hachas,* of full-round and crested head form from Veracruz, have Izapan-type rounded scrolls and other Preclassic traits (see Parsons 1980: nos. 274 and 275, for only two characteristic examples). Many of these probably date prior to A.D. 200, and may have served as surrogates of the dragon or anthropomorphic "trophy heads" attached to the waist belts shown on many Preclassic monuments. Of course we know that the symbolic *hachas* were actually attached to the fronts of hip guards or waist yokes of ball players in the Classic period.

This suggestion leads to a very brief summary of possible ball player representations in Preclassic art, though the material beginning with Xochipala and Tlatilco figurines will not be reviewed. While there is only scattered evidence for formal architectural ball courts prior to A.D. 400, there is considerable evidence for the rubber ball game and its costumed players. Among the examples in the sculptured objects discussed for the Terminal Preclassic period are the Tepatlaxco stela, the older ball player stone panels at Dainzu, Oaxaca, as well as the "portable" ringed pedestal marker from Kaminaljuyu (Silhouette 2). The suggestion has been raised that its Stela 25 represents a helmeted ball player. In more general terms, the representations of human trophy heads during the

Izapan horizon, may well demonstrate the inauguration of the form of ball game sacrifice so prevalent in later Cotzumalhuapan and Classic Veracruz art. Moreover, it is not improbable that many early stelae depicting heavy belts with frontal heads, and helmetlike headdresses, really represent ritual ball players, such as Stela 11 at Kaminaljuyu and the Chocola stela, to cite only two. The latter, in addition, holds two sacrificed human heads. The decapitation scene on Stela 21 at Izapa (Norman 1973: pl. 34) may also relate to this aspect of the ceremonial ball game.

Since the origins of Classic Veracruz art and ball game iconography are not in the scope of this monograph, I shall proceed to a review of Terminal Preclassic sculptural art in the Maya lowlands, that was largely inspired by on-going sculptural developments in the highland Kaminaljuyu art style. Other than a very small group of earlier potbelly or Olmecoid-type monuments, the first southern-related art appears in the Peten in middle Chicanel times, c. 100 B.C. Much of the earliest surviving monumental art there occurs in the form of architectural relief masks, polychromed murals, plus a few carved stones. These Lowland Maya data conform to the contemporary and parallel Miraflores and Arenal styles in the highlands and Pacific slopes, but it is only in the Southern Maya region that the developmental roots of the styles can be documented; the Maya lowlands, in this period, are the receivers of influence. This section, then, will summarize and document evidence for the transfer and adoption of aspects of Late Preclassic art in the Central Maya lowlands.

The oldest monumental sculptural forms native to the Peten are applied in stucco relief to the terraces of Late Preclassic pyramids, flanking stairways. The reliefs consist of full-front anthropomorphic "jaguar" masks with earplugs. Often polychromed, they relate in style particularly to the early Miraflores stone censers in the highlands (Monuments 16–18, Kaminaljuyu, Figs. 125–128), which, in turn, reflect an older and multifaceted tradition in the south. The best-known, and possibly the oldest, stucco architectural masks are those on pyramid E-VII-sub at Uaxactun (Ricketson and Ricketson 1937). These are possibly no more recent than 100 B.C. At Tikal's North Acropolis, Structure 5D-Sub 3-3rd revealed a pair of polychromed stucco feline masks, with downturned mouths and rounded-square earplugs, flanking a staircase (W. R. Coe 1965b: fig. 17). This constructrion is Cauac phase (100 B.C.–A.D. 50), but the masks probably date to the outset of the era. The somewhat later (50 B.C.?) Structure 5D-Sub 1-1st also has long-snouted architectural masks (W. R. Coe 1965b: fig. 4).

At the site of Cerros in northern Belize, David Freidel (1979) recently excavated several Late Preclassic terraced structures, revealing a number of polychromed stucco monster masks of both "blunt-nosed" and "long-nosed" variety. On the basis of comparative evidence from the highlands, I believe these date to the first century B.C. The direct correspondence of a relief dragon jaw on Structure 6B at Cerros (Freidel 1979: fig. 8) to one on Stela 22 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 150), which I would date to c. 50 B.C., has been cited above. In addition, Freidel kindly supplied a draft of an illustrated paper fully discussing four frontal architectural masks, with elaborate flanking reliefs, from Structure 5C-2nd at Cerros. Since this material is as yet unpublished, these important configurations can be described in only the most general fashion, though the component motifs match in considerable detail with contemporary early Miraflores and Arenal sculptures. My comparison is restricted to Arenal Altars 9 and 10 at Kaminaljuyu (Figs. 139–141), whose winged, long-snouted dragon carvings presumably date to the second century B.C. One rounded-square earplug on a Cerros mask is identical in every detail to that on Altar 10: from top scroll, to framing bow knots, to beaded bell-shaped pendant. Further, the extreme flanking downward-directed dragon jaws on all four 5C-2nd compositions are identical in form to the down-turned dragons placed to the rear of the serpent-birds on

Altars 9 and 10. Archaeological dating of these structures at Cerros agrees with this interpretation (Freidel, personal communication, 1981). Yet unpublished stucco masks on Late Preclassic mounds at Lamanai, Belize, and at the large site of El Mirador in the northern Peten are said to be similar.

In stone sculpture, two stela fragments in the Maya area belong stylistically to the early Terminal Preclassic. The previously unpublished Stela 2 from El Mirador (Fig. 186) is perhaps the earliest carved stela known from the lowlands, conceivably dating to the early half of the first century B.C. The front side (not illustrated) shows, from the waist down, a standing, left-facing, skirtless figure with wrapped knees, like early Arenal Stela 25 at Kaminaljuyu. However, the long-snouted dragon profile on the reverse (Fig. 186) can be more confidently compared to highland sculptures. Note particularly the rounded-rectangle eye, the tight nose scroll, the sharply bent and down-turned snout, the three-tooth row, and the mouth scroll. Most of these features appear at Kaminaljuyu on the central monster heads on Altars 9 and 10, as well as on Stela 25 (Fig. 148), though on the stela the sharply angled snout of the three-toothed earth dragon turns in the opposite direction.

The other early example, "Miscellaneous Stone 69" at Tikal, consists of two upper fragments of a smashed stela found buried in Cimi phase fill (the phase begins in A.D. 50: W. R. Coe 1965a: 22). Stylistically, however, this could be placed a century earlier, in agreement with William Coe (1965b: 1417) that it is Miraflores related. The complexly surrounded human face has an eye form like the Chocola figure (Fig. 176), and the upper profile dragon has a tightly voluted snout, also like the headdress dragon on the same stela from the Pacific slopes. Further, the Tikal dragon's scrolled eyebrow matches the contemporary Kaminaljuyu Stelae 22 and 28 (Figs. 150, 173). The latter also has similar tightly voluted scrolls.

Between 50 B.C. and A.D. 50, we have two series of wall paintings from the North Acropolis at Tikal that demonstrate the beginnings of truly Protoclassic Maya art there; despite a cursive style related to the nature of the medium, they may be equated with developments from the outside. The first mural fragments are from the Cauac phase Burial 166—the first corbel-vaulted structure in the lowlands (W. R. Coe 1965a: 16). These black-line-on-red frescoes date to 50 B.C. (W. R. Coe 1965b: 1413). Two of the seated figures relate in posture to Kaminaljuyu Arenal Monuments 63, 65, and Altar 1 (Figs. 146, 149, and 153), as well as the somewhat later incised figure on the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral (M. D. Coe 1966). The stylistic character of the various figures, as well as the featherwork and loose, thin, two-part scrolls relate in spirit to both the Miraflores Chocola stela and Stela 10 at Kaminaljuyu.

Structure 5D-Sub 10-1st at Tikal has polychrome murals on the exterior of the shrine and is dated by William Coe (1965a: 18–19) to 25 B.C., only a generation later than the Burial 166 paintings. On stylistic grounds, especially the form of the many broad opposing rounded-square scrolls, these may actually belong to the first half of the first century A.D., at the very end of the Cauac phase. Further, the double-banded and three-beaded arms on the standing figures are even closer in style to the Dumbarton Oaks pectoral. All the scrolls fringing these figures resemble those attached to the contemporary Silhouette 4 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 154), and also those found on Bilbao Monument 42 (Fig. 183).

Additional Lowland Maya monuments may be assigned to the A.D. 50–200 Protoclassic phase, and more are doubtless yet to be found. The cave relief at Loltun, Yucatan (Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 38b), is generally acknowledged to belong to the Izapan horizon (see Map 3, and the more recent drawings of it in Norman 1976: fig. 6.24). This can be placed stylistically in the early 8th Cycle, or the second half of the first century A.D. Significantly, there is a short glyph column to the upper left of the standing human figure, who wears a nose bead and holds a serrated staff (spear?) in his right hand and a hooked scepter in

his left, equivalent to the much earlier scepter on Stela 11, Kaminaljuyu. His belt design also resembles those seen on the earlier Chocola stela and the "black altar," but the frontal profile dragon has three shell danglers of late Arenal type. One further motif of interest, with respect to proto-Maya motifs, is the diagonal beaded hip ornament. This same motif is not only seen on the 50 B.C.–A.D. 50 Stelae 1 and 2 at Abaj Takalik (Thompson 1943: 110), but on the Early Classic, fourth century A.D., Leiden Plate and Uolantun Stela 1 (Proskouriakoff 1950: figs. 41a, 37b), as well as other stelae before the close of Cycle 8.

Two other stela fragments from El Mirador in the northern Peten, the site with possibly the earliest Lowland Maya stela, should belong to this Protoclassic period also (unpublished drawings of its Stelae 3 and 4 were shown me by Ian Graham). Norman Hammond also recently reported (1982) a small plain stela from Cuello in Belize, which he dates to A.D. 100. Stela 10 at Uaxactun (Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 36e, f), carved on both faces with standing human figures and broad bifurcated scrolls, probably belongs to the early second century A.D. The recently reported Stela 1 fragment from Tintal in the Peten (Justeson and Mathews 1983: fig. 1) also perfectly matches it in style. On Stela 10, the toe of one foot does not touch the heel of the other, following a mannerism of the Izapan horizon. As a comparison with late Arenal Altar 2 (Fig. 161) from Kaminaljuyu, we cited the early Cycle 8 Altar 1 from Polol in the central Peten (Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 36d). As with the highland altar, this depicts two headdressed figures facing a central eroded panel of glyphs.

Thus, the close of the Terminal Preclassic period witnesses both the culmination of Preclassic monumental art in the southern area and its derivative entrenchment in the Maya lowlands. In the subsequent Early Classic transition, A.D. 200–400, all the distinctive aspects of Maya art emerged, with only residual traces of the prior Izapan "horizon style" in southeastern Mesoamerica. It is evident that this phase stylistically foreshadows the full crystallization of Classic Maya art in early Cycle 9 at the outset of the fifth century A.D. (See Proskouriakoff 1950, for the definitive study of that Lowland Maya development.)

Early Classic (Transition): A.D. 200–400

In this period, which corresponds to the Aurora phase at Kaminaljuyu (Table 1), there is little sculpture in the highlands in contrast to the spectacular development of late Cycle 8 sculpture in the Maya lowlands. The introduction of Middle Classic Mexicanized modes, especially pronounced in the southern area, marks the end of this Early Classic period. Only with respect to the development of Classic sculpture in the Lowland Maya area can this period be appropriately termed "transitional"; the Sculpture Division V styles in the south are to become totally non-Maya after A.D. 400. The Early Classic in the Southern Maya area is actually an interim period, if not hiatus, in monumental art, with the possible exception of late provincial Arenal carving at La Lagunita (Ichon 1977). My observation that a formerly explicitly proto-Maya stylistic tradition in the highlands never developed further there suggests an era of profound social change, an era in which the focus of that tradition effectively shifts north to the Maya lowlands. Although the cultural processes that may account for these changes remain obscure, the changes themselves can be documented through analysis of the sculptural evidence. Payson Sheets's (1979) hypothesis that extreme vulcanism in the south was a contributing factor, will be discussed in Part Two.

The miniature "Hauberg" stela (Easby and Scott 1970: no. 169) may be placed at the outset of the third century A.D. Although of unknown provenience, it is certainly mid-Cycle 8 Maya in style. Note the Early Maya glyph column to the left and double row of hieroglyphs at the base. The standing figure cradles a long flaccid serpent in the manner of the earlier Cycle 8 Stela 5 at Abaj Takalik, and even of the later Leiden Plate. On the Hauberg example, however, there are

attached climbing figures, and a serpent head, complete with a peering human head in its jaws, hovers over the scene. An unpublished Ian Graham drawing of a stela from Laguna San Diego, halfway between Flores and Yaxchilan, shows a related style; Graham dates the stela (personal communication, 1982) to the Cycle 8.10 to 8.15 range. Tikal Stela 29, of course, is established as bearing the earliest recorded Initial Series calendrical inscription in the Central Maya area (8.12.14.8.15; or, A.D. 292). Over the personage on its front side is another peering deity (W. R. Coe 1962: fig. 5).

The next dated object (Cycle 8.14; A.D. 320) is the famed jade plaque known after its present location as the Leiden Plate, originally found by a Dutch engineer in the lower Motagua Valley. The standing personage on the front exhibits all the principal Early Classic Maya features, including tripartite shell danglers from its two belt heads (Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 41a). Eroded Stela 9 from Uaxactun (Proskouriakoff's fig. 37a) is also dated to Cycle 8.14, while Uaxactun Stela 5 (Proskouriakoff's fig. 38a) is c. A.D. 380. The figure on this last, interestingly, carries an *atlatl* in his left hand (cf. the earlier Stela 2 at Kaminaljuyu, Fig. 182). Stela 1 from Uolantun (Proskouriakoff's fig. 37b), dated to c. A.D. 400, completes the inventory of principal stelae from the lowlands in this Early Classic, late 8th Cycle era.

With respect, however, to subsequent Middle Classic events in southeastern Mesoamerica, it is significant to note that Stela 18 at Tikal (Proskouriakoff 1950: fig. 38c), dated at the very close of Cycle 8 between A.D. 400 and 435, already depicts a Mexican-type Tlaloc motif, with circle-and-triangle headdress, in front of its torso. This depiction is comparable to the initial Cycle 9 (A.D. 435) stela from El Zapote in the Peten, with its Mexican year sign in the same position (Easby and Scott 1970: no. 170). In architectural sculpture, the Late Preclassic lowland tradition of applying stucco relief masks to terraces of pyramids continues during the Early Classic at Tikal.

The paucity of monumental sculpture of any kind at Kaminaljuyu during the A.D. 200–400 transition phase stands in sharp contrast with its relative abundance in the Peten. Some scanty evidence comes from Mounds D-III-1 and D-III-13 (Map 4), both securely dated to the Aurora ceramic phase. Heinrich Berlin found the plain Stela 24, 185 cm in height (not illustrated; see Berlin 1952: fig. 6), erected in front of D-III-13. Whether it was manufactured in this period or resituated from some former Late Preclassic context cannot be determined. Terraces on Mound D-III-13 were also decorated with painted mud-stucco floral reliefs (Berlin 1952: figs. 9, 10), a technique more dramatically manifested on nearby Mound D-III-1 in 1962 (Fig. 187; and see Miles 1963: 35, as well as Stone 1972: 90–91).

Expedient clearing of the facade of Mound D-III-1, supervised by Suzanne Miles, revealed an unusual mud-plastered mound, constructed in framed stepped platforms with unique inlaid disks of obsidian (see Girard 1966: pl. 197), an applied high-relief adobe architectural mask, and other attached mud figures representing seated humans (Miles 1963). The prominent monster mask (Fig. 187) had a fringed headband, long looped snout, and flanking mouth scrolls. Extensions from the top of the head may represent attenuated limbs; if so, this would be a "diving god." The snout form recalls the loop-nosed incense burner type, which according to Borhegyi (1956: 4) came into use in the Aurora phase. As these are the only known architectural masks at Kaminaljuyu, and are securely dated by associated pottery to this Early Classic phase, they may imply a "reverse" diffusion of a Peten tradition upon that of the highlands at this time.

Just as Early Classic Maya sculptural art gains momentum in the lowlands, Kaminaljuyu seems to decline from its Terminal Preclassic florescence. The apparent waning of this major center may have facilitated Mexican and Gulf Coast intrusions into the southern area at the end of the fourth century A.D. During the Middle Classic, any renewed stone sculptural activity in the south reflected those foreign styles, from "Teotihuaca-

noid" to "Cotzumalhuapan." However, Highland Maya alliances with the Peten almost certainly persisted, with continued flourishing in Early Maya style of the minor arts at Kaminaljuyu (documented by the lavish offerings of elite Maya painted pottery, side-by-side with Teotihuacan pottery, in its Esperanza phase tombs at Mounds A and B). The main objective of Teotihuacan intrusion, other than mutually advantageous trade, seems to have been to secure access and political alliances with the flourishing and prestigious Lowland Maya area; this objective was achieved only partially before their own decline in Central Mexico proper.

Style Division V: Early Mexican (A.D. 400–800)

The terminal period of occupation, as well as of sculptural production, at the great site of Kaminaljuyu corresponds to the Middle Classic and early Late Classic period, and comprises the Esperanza-Amatle 1 ceramic phase (A.D. 400–600), plus the Amatle 2 subphase of the Late Classic (assigned to A.D. 600–800 by Wetherington). These units span the time of Teotihuacan intrusion and the final abandonment of Kaminaljuyu in the eighth century A.D. (Tables 1, 2).

During the Esperanza-Amatle 1 phase, a Teotihuacan-affiliated group constructed impressive *talud-tablero* architectural complexes at the north-central Acropolis and Palangana, some strategically placed north-south oriented ball courts, and the outlying burial Mounds A and B. The ball courts reflect a complex probably carried south from the Gulf Coast, along with the associated ceremonial yoke and *hacha* ball player equipment; most Middle Classic monumental stone sculpture at Kaminaljuyu functioned as scoring markers for these courts.

The Classic period ball game seems to have been less a public sport than a highly developed elite religious cult. Although the Maya clearly had their own ceremonial version of the widespread ball game cult during the Preclassic, including trophy-head sacrifices, the newly introduced formal courts, stone paraphernalia, and a variety of associated ritual sacrifices suggest altered forms and functions of the Mexican variant of the game. The Mexican elite may have exploited the ancient ball game cult to enhance their political and religious control of this center. A trophy skull at Mound B (Tomb IV; Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 165), which could have been from a sacrificed ball player, was decorated with a carved Mayoid profile serpent motif implying that the victim may have been a *Maya* nobleman. The first stage of the north-south ball court at Copan, Honduras, was built at this time also (c. A.D. 435; Parsons 1969: 163) and indicates initial southern Middle Classic inroads at that Maya site, followed by a subsequent overlay of both Mexican and Cotzumalhuapan iconography, that includes Tlalocs and large stone heads, as well as tenoned ball court markers.

The beginning of the Amatle 2 phase in the seventh century—which I define as the end of the Middle Classic phenomenon—saw the gradual withdrawal of Teotihuacanos from Kaminaljuyu, or their Mayanization, and at the same time the construction of the majority of the ball courts (now east-west in orientation; see Map 4).[9] The C-II-4, Amatle 1, Acropolis zone was filled in, and the Amatle 2 Ball Court "A" built on top of it. Simultaneously, the enclosure of the Lower Plaza, at the nearby Palangana, was raised to its full height. The ultimate eighth-century Late Classic period of occupation, at the end of Amatle 2, is marked by a resurgence of the Highland Maya tradition—almost certainly this population had never left Kaminaljuyu—and the establishment of a "monument plaza" for ancient Preclas-

[9] Our data on the twelve ball courts at Kaminaljuyu and their associated stone sculptures (Map 4) come principally from the late Stephan F. de Borhegyi, who obtained considerable information from notes or personal communications from Ledyard Smith, Alfred V. Kidder, and Edwin Shook. The material has never before been systematically assembled, though Brown (1973) has provided extremely useful recent information, including the observation that the cardinal orientation of the courts is of chronological significance.

sic sculptures in the Palangana zone. (See Part Two for detailed discussion.)

Sculptural material from this final, Early Mexican phase, designated Style Division V, includes a total of over twenty stone monuments at Kaminaljuyu. The fact that sixteen of these are tenoned ball court markers reflects the strong specialized functional emphasis of stone carving in this time of outside domination. Interestingly, at Teotihuacan itself there is little freestanding stone sculpture; most of its in-the-round carving is functionally associated with architecture.

Given my earlier analysis of this style period from the perspective of the Pacific Coast Cotzumalhuapa region (Parsons 1969), the present focus is primarily restricted to the manifestations at Kaminaljuyu, with some significantly related new comparative material from the coast. That earlier study of south coast sculpture defined an initial "Teotihuacan" contact period of generalized Mexican Highland and Gulf Coast inspiration c. A.D. 400, followed by the inception of the eclectic Cotzumalhuapan "Teotihuacanoid" or "narrative" style corresponding to the Laguneta phase at Bilbao, and lasting to the end of the Middle Classic at A.D. 700. This division encompasses everything reflected at Kaminaljuyu, including all the ball court sculptures. The coastal low-relief "narrative" aspect itself—perhaps a revival of the Izapan tradition—is, however, not seen at Kaminaljuyu. The Late Classic Santa Lucia phase at Bilbao reflects the full regional development of the unique Cotzumalhuapan "portrait" style.

Since the stone sculptures in the Valley of Guatemala only demonstrate the very early Cotzumalhuapan Mexican contact phases, they may, for simplicity, be labeled Teotihuacanoid (Table 1). Thus the earliest coastal non-Maya sculptural tradition moved into Kaminaljuyu along with Teotihuacan political and economic control. Both Berlo (n.d.) and Bove (n.d.) agree from ceramic evidence that Teotihuacan influence was manifested along the Pacific Coast prior to its reaching Kaminaljuyu. The developed Cotzumalhuapan sculptural tradition, however, was successfully introduced only into the neighboring Antigua Valley—the other relatively convenient access route to the highlands from the Escuintla region.

Five exotic Kaminaljuyu monuments belonging to the Amatle 1 phase relate, like the tenoned ball court markers, to other sculptural developments in the Peripheral Coastal lowlands. With the exception of Stela 13, and its simple Teotihuacan rattlesnake-tail motif (Fig. 188), they display such incipient Cotzumalhuapan facial characteristics as a peculiar eye form, broad-nostriled noses, cheek lines, and "question-mark" ears over full-front circular earplugs. The eyes, which have either a double outline to represent the lids, or a sharply outlined eyeball set in a sunken concave area, are particularly diagnostic. Some of these traits may stem from an unrecognized Gulf Coast style exemplified in a previously unpublished panel from Tuzapan, Veracruz (Fig. 189). Note the facial features just described, the squatting and cross-armed posture, necklace, and loincloth panel. Both the arm position and the flowing hair, drawn as a series of parallel or concentric lines, are common to Cotzumalhuapan sculpture on the southern Pacific Coast. However this, and several unusual sculptures at Cerro de las Mesas, could actually represent influence from an already developed south coast style upon the Gulf Coast.

Most obvious direct Teotihuacan derivation is shown in the small "Stela" 13 from Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 188). Over a plain vertical base, three grooved interlocking segments of a conventionalized rattlesnake tail end in a double volute. As discussed in the Bilbao monograph (Parsons 1969: 125–126, pl. 54d–g), this is identical to several vertically erected stones carved at Teotihuacan itself. This series of motifs is duplicated also on early Cotzumalhuapan sculptures (Parsons 1969: pl. 47b). In addition, the Middle Classic site of Solano, situated south of Kaminaljuyu in the Valley of Guatemala and with strongly Teotihuacan-related architecture, produced a monument identical to Stela 13 (Brown 1977: 232).

"Stela" 23 (Fig. 190), found at Kaminaljuyu in 1964, is a plain tabular slab with a full-front face

carved in a panel on the lower half. The visage, though a very hybrid conception borrowed from the Pacific Coastal lowlands, can be labeled Teotihuacanoid, with vague resemblances to moldmade figurines of Teotihuacan III–IV type and to Pacific Coast figurines of Tiquisate ware. The broad nose, recessed eyes, full-front earplugs, and necklace recall the Veracruz panel (Fig. 189), while the segmented headband and central medallion containing a *Calli* glyph are identical to such headbands and glyphs in Cotzumalhuapan art (cf. Parsons 1969: pl. 41c). The ovoid mouth and tooth row are like those of Monument 10 (Fig. 191), now located in the Aurora Park Zoo, but reported by Lothrop (1926) as coming from the southwest corner of Mound C-IV-8.[10] A vertically tenoned rectangular sculpture, with four replicated human faces carved around the block, the incipient Cotzumalhuapa features on Monument 10 include the characteristic eye forms, broad-nostriled noses, deep cheek lines, and parted, toothy mouths that are seen in a number of related sculptures.

Monument 12 (Fig. 192), also reported by Lothrop (1926), is a head fragment apparently found to the east of Mounds A and B. Although its facial features are minimally incised in a concave area, the draftsmanship clearly follows the same canons. Below a horizontally banded turban we find the double-outlined eyes, broad nose, ovoid mouth, and spooled "question-mark" ears. Conceivably, however, it could be an older head fragment recarved according to later tastes, like some of the incised Mexican "Xipe" transformations noted for Preclassic coastal sculptures.

The seemingly unusual Monument 61 (Figs. 193, 194) was encountered by the Kaminaljuyu Project protruding above the surface immediately south of the Palangana C-II-14. Since its animal headdress has archaistic features, but the human face below looks thoroughly Cotzumalhuapan, the piece initially suggested a Preclassic monument partially recarved in Middle Classic times (as was Monument 33; Fig. 209). However, this need not be the case, as the broad scroll-plaqued rectangular eyes and upturned segmented palate on the snout of the headdress are also found on Middle Classic ball court sculptures; some of these tenoned serpent and parrot heads have comparable archaistic features in the treatment of their eye plaques. The serpent-feline headdress on Monument 61 is crested and has a fanged mouth. The large head itself is related to early Cotzumalhuapan human head sculptures on the south coast (to be reviewed below), as well as to ball court Monument 31 (Fig. 200). The eye and wrinkled cheek areas are sunken, surrounded by high cheekbones and crescent-form eyebrows and broad nose. The right spooled ear, at least, is of "question-mark" conformation.

The south coast offers important comparative sculpture of this period; in particular, two monuments at Abaj Takalik relate stylistically to a whole cluster of Middle Classic sculptures. Eroded Monument 14 was reported (Graham, Heizer, and Shook 1978: pl. 6, and Graham 1981: fig. 3) as Middle Preclassic in style. It is a high-relief squatting human figure, holding an animal in the crook of his right arm. What Graham describes as a "hoofed creature" in the left arm is actually a pair of wavy pointed "flame" motifs, so common in Cotzumalhuapan art. Note the concentrically grooved flowing hair on both sides of the headband, the large full-front earplugs, and square loincloth between the splayed legs—all duplicated on the panel from Veracruz (Fig. 189). This Abaj Takalik monument, however, is extremely difficult to place stylistically, and may be one of those Preclassic sculptures postulated to have been partially reworked. Monument 7 at Abaj Takalik (Fig. 195) is a large, damaged, human head sculpture found locally well before Graham's project there. Although he seems to consider it to be very early in

[10] However, since the ruins of the nineteenth-century Finca Arevalo hacienda were on the summit of that mound, the sculpture may have been moved there as an ornament from some other location at the site. Similarly, the two potbelly sculptures (Monuments 6 and 7), serving as gateposts to that *finca* on the south in Maudslay's time (Map 4), certainly were not in situ from Pre-Columbian times.

the Preclassic sequence of sculptures, it demonstrates every stylistic facial feature—from crescent eyebrows to double-outlined eyes, "spade-shaped" nose, ovoid mouth with upper tooth row, and "question-mark" ears—characteristic of this later period. There can be no question that the correct stylistic placement of this Abaj Takalik head monument is in association with the Classic period of occupation of the site.

Additional comparative evidence from the Pacific Coast is furnished by four other previously unpublished Middle Classic Cotzumalhuapan head sculptures; the colossal head in the Aurora Park Zoo (Parsons 1969: pl. 65d) is also of the same style. One south coast head (Fig. 196) has traits that recall both Monuments 61 and 31 at Kaminaljuyu (Figs. 193 and 200). Note the head crest, crescent-shaped eyebrows, sunken eyes, broad nose, high cheeks, and ovoid mouth.

The next three comparable stone heads are located at Finca Santa Clara in the Department of Santa Rosa, on the eastern part of the Guatemalan Pacific Coast. I found these on a reconnaissance trip in 1969, during the Monte Alto project, at a site that also has Preclassic sculptures (cf. Figs. 45 and 78). The Monument 1 head (Fig. 197) resembles Figure 196, except for the lack of a crest and the addition of cheek wrinkles. Monument 2 (Fig. 198) not only has cheek wrinkles but double-outlined eyes and "question-mark" ears with Cotzumalhuapa-type tubular beaded earplugs. The "bags" under its eyes and other features also relate to the famous "old man" colossal stone head at El Baul (Parsons 1969: fig. 65e). Finally, the unusual Monument 4 head (Fig. 199) has a heavily framed and toothy mouth that no doubt derives from Mexican Tlaloc iconography. Although the upper part of the face is scaled, the familiar broad nose and crescent-capped, double-outlined, eye forms are discernible.

Reference here to some of the coastal Cotzumalhuapan art has provided a comparative basis for stylistic assignment of sculptures at both Kaminaljuyu and Abaj Takalik that might otherwise have seemed merely aberrant.

Of the sixteen ball court sculptures from Kaminaljuyu—Monuments 14, and 23 through 37 (Table 4)—only a representative sample of ten will be illustrated. These normally are full-round effigy heads with plain horizontal tenons for securing them into the side walls of courts where they function as scoring markers during the ball game; frequently they are carved as matched pairs for opposite sides of the same court. Some of these heads are laterally flattened, with both faces equally carved. At Kaminaljuyu, nine of these sculptures were actually discovered inside ball courts; on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere, including Teotihuacan, such sculptures also served as ornaments tenoned into staircase balustrades. The examples at Kaminaljuyu represent serpent, parrot, jaguar, and monkey or human heads. The open jaws of the serpents and parrots often contain human heads with earspools—a trait common to these sculptures on the Pacific Coast as well.

Such tenoned heads are particularly abundant in the south coast Cotzumalhuapa region, though only infrequently have they been recorded there in direct association with ball courts. However, a large horizontally tenoned human death's head was excavated by Franz Termer (1963, 1973) in the west wall of a north-south oriented ball court at Palo Gordo (also see Parsons 1969: pl. 55a). Several other similar sculptures also came from that site. I discovered (unpublished 1969 field notes and photos) three nearly identical tenoned death's head sculptures exposed inside a small north-south, open-ended, ball court at Finca Nueva Linda in the Department of Santa Rosa. Both these courts and their sculptures seem to be early Middle Classic. The sunken ball court in the El Baul acropolis, from which some of the local horizontally tenoned heads may have come, is east-west in orientation and thus presumably late Middle Classic (Parsons 1969: 61–63).

The Bilbao monograph (Parsons 1969: pls. 55–57) illustrated a number of the tenoned heads and considered a possible Teotihuacan origin for the sculpture type. While horizontally tenoned serpent heads are a hallmark of that Valley of Mexico

site (tenoned into both pyramid terraces and staircase balustrades), one pair of tenoned, laterally flattened, death's heads, as well as a tenoned full-round jaguar head from Teotihuacan (Parsons 1969: pl. 55d, g), particularly resemble the early Cotzumalhuapan corpus. Further, a pair of large stone serpent heads from Teotihuacan, now in the Denver Art Museum, served in a composite assemblage with a circular disk as a portable ball game marker, according to the reconstruction by curator Robert Stroessner (n.d.). A Cotzumalhuapa-looking horizontally tenoned serpent head, with human face in its jaws, is also known from Xalapan, Veracruz (Parsons 1969: pl. 57a, b).

This particular ball game cult must have been carried south at the outset of the Middle Classic by way of the Gulf Coast tropical "rubber land," where permanent courts and ceremonial yokes and *hachas* were added to the complex. Ball courts, yokes, and *hachas* are regular features of Middle and Late Classic sites on the Southern Pacific Coast, but few of those courts have been excavated. This complex became especially important at highland Kaminaljuyu, where, of its remarkable total of twelve courts (see Map 4, for their distribution at the site), four have been professionally excavated, and all four have associated tenoned sculptures. And Kaminaljuyu is not without its own ball game stone yokes and *hachas,* as well as plain tripod mushroom stones of the period.

While these southern architectural ball courts have been conventionally considered to be Late Classic, Kaminaljuyu Project archaeologists demonstrated a Middle Classic, Amatle 1, variety as well. After excavating the early Ball Court "G" (B-III-5) and analyzing all ball courts (approximately fifty) distributed throughout the Valley of Guatemala, Brown (1973) determined that the generally north-south oriented, open-ended courts were earlier, and that the more abundant east-west oriented, enclosed courts were later (Amatle 2 and Pamplona subphases). Ball Court "G" yielded a fifth century A.D. obsidian hydration date (Brown 1973: 420). The Amatle 1 courts at Kaminaljuyu seem to be limited to "G" (B-III-5), "B" (C-II-7), and presumably "C" (C-III-3), located just south of the Acropolis-Palangana complex, as well as "D" (D-IV-6). These are all centrally located at the site. Courts G and B each yielded one tenoned sculpture. Ball Court "B," located midway between the Acropolis and Palangana, first excavated by Ledyard Smith in the early 1940s, was retested by Stephan Borhegyi in the late 1950s. The associated ceramics (personal examination of the sherds in the Guatemalan National Museum: Lot C-139) support the evidence of its early north-south orientation and of the reported *talud-tablero* architectural features (unpublished Borhegyi field notes) in arguing for an Esperanza-Amatle 1 age.

The remaining eight courts, generally of more scattered and marginal distribution at the site, were apparently of Amatle 2 type, though good information exists for only a couple of them, and most have by now disappeared under the modern suburb. For some of them (the unlettered ones, Map 4), even their compass orientations have not been reliably recorded. Two ("A" and "F," or C-II-4 and F-V-1) were also partially excavated by Ledyard Smith, and both of these produced groups of horizontally tenoned stone sculptures. Ball Court "A" is the one in the upper levels of the C-II-4 Acropolis, and "F" was located north of Mounds A and B. These, of course, are east-west in orientation to the site's central axis.

Among the tenoned ball court markers, a few belong to the earlier Amatle 1 division. Monument 31 (Fig. 200) was found in situ in 1942 at Ball Court "B" (C-II-7). Significantly, this horizontally tenoned human head has all the basic stylistic features described above for other Middle Classic head sculptures: from central crest, to sunken eyes, broad nose, heavy upper cheeks, and ovoid mouth. Monument 32 (Fig. 201), found in 1950 at the recently excavated Ball Court "G" (B-III-5), represents a small horizontally tenoned parrot head of rather compact rounded features. Monument 24 (not illustrated; see Villacorta 1932: 116, for a fuzzy photograph) is a crude tenoned human head, 72 cm in length, and of unknown site

provenience, which may pertain to this same earlier ball court era. The death's-head stone markers mentioned for the coast at Palo Gordo and Nueva Linda are also presumably early.

The remaining thirteen tenoned heads are, or may be, associated with the seventh century, Amatle 2, ball courts at Kaminaljuyu—though the evidence for any basis of real stylistic or chronological separation of the many ball court markers themselves is still equivocal. For example, the very large site of Frutal farther south in the valley has an "early" north-south ball court with an associated horizontally tenoned parrot head (Brown 1977), resembling Monuments 29 and 30 from the "late" Ball Court "A" at Kaminaljuyu. Four markers were found in Ball Court "A" (C-II-4) at the Acropolis. Monument 34, a horizontally tenoned jaguar head (Fig. 202), was found there by Espinosa, and relates to others in the region and on the south coast. Incidentally, two other small tenoned jaguar heads from Kaminaljuyu, apparently recovered by Espinosa, are now in the storeroom of the Guatemala National Museum. Numbered as Monuments 35 and 36, they are not illustrated here. (See Table 4, for more details on the few sculptures not illustrated.) Monument 27 (not illustrated), a tenoned monkey head 70 cm in length, was also found in that court by the same excavator of the southern sector of the C-II-4 complex.

Better documented are a fine matched pair of laterally flattened, horizontally tenoned, parrot heads excavated by Smith at Ball Court "A" in 1941 (Monuments 29 and 30). Monument 29 (Fig. 203) is a well-preserved large head with broad-plaqued eyes, corner fret, and prominent beak. Inside the open mouth is a Cotzumalhuapan-looking human face, with circular earspools (in shadow in this photograph). There is a carved concavity on the underside of the parrot head. Its mate, Monument 30 (not illustrated), slightly smaller and more eroded and damaged, also has a human head in its beak.

Several sculptures were found at Ball Court "F" (F-V-1) by Ledyard Smith in 1942. Monument 26 (Fig. 204) is a horizontally tenoned serpent head excavated in the center of the court. Its broad-bracketed eyes and corner frets resemble the style of the parrot heads. In addition, there is a fringe and nose at the top, and upper fangs in the wide-open jaws. Monument 33 (Fig. 209) may be a possible mate to this, though its site provenience is not known. Monument 37 (not illustrated), almost half the size of Monument 26, and much more damaged, was excavated at the eastern end of the same ball court. This also seems to be a serpent, but in addition, has a human face in its open jaws. Monument 28 (Fig. 205), apparently from this court, is another serpent head—this time with toothy, fanged, upturned jaws and a segmented upper palate.

The final four related ball court markers are of uncertain provenience at the site. Monument 14 (Fig. 206), however, may have been found about one hundred meters north of a ball court in the northeastern sector (Map 4). It was first illustrated by Villacorta and Villacorta (1927: 44). While the general characteristics of this upturned-jaw serpent resemble others under discussion, it is placed on a stubby vertical tenon; such vertically tenoned markers are known from other courts in the eastern highlands of Guatemala, as well as at Copan. Monument 23 (Fig. 207) is another horizontally tenoned serpent head, first published by Villacorta (1932: 115). Monument 25 (Fig. 208) is a serpent-head fragment with long fangs, related to this general ball court sculpture group, and also first reported by Villacorta (1932). Finally, Monument 33 (Fig. 209) is nearly identical in size and serpent-head features to Monument 26 (Fig. 204), inducing one to conjecture that it was carved as the opposing mate for Ball Court "F." Its unique feature, however, is that its short, round-cornered and wide-framed, tenon bears massed rounded scrolls of the complex Preclassic mode. These low-relief designs are incomplete and interrupted at the junction of the serpent head; it has been suggested (Miles and Shook, personal communication, 1963) that this whole stone may have been recarved in Middle Classic times from the missing

portion of the early Arenal Stela 1 (Fig. 144). Indeed, both monuments have about the same maximum depth. This operation, as well as the setting up of the monument plaza at the Palangana, seems to have occurred on the eve of Teotihuacan withdrawal from Kaminaljuyu.

One last sculpture fragment should be mentioned (Monument 64; not illustrated), found on the surface near low Mound C-III-4, 300 meters south of the Palangana. One edge of this large boulder fragment retains the low-relief curved and pointed ends of four grooved plume or flame motifs, of presumed Cotzumalhuapan type. Of course, its stylistic affiliation cannot be determined on the basis of one minor motif; it could have been a much earlier boulder carving.

Since no additional new sculpture seems to have been produced at Kaminaljuyu after A.D. 700, this "Early Mexican" Style Division V concludes our detailed analysis. The terminal eighth-century occupation of the site is characterized by a weak resurgence of the local Highland Maya culture after Teotihuacan withdrawal or absorption, as well as the introduction of Late Classic coastal San Juan plumbate pottery at the end of the Amatle 2 phase. Over and around the old Esperanza shrine-atrium compound in the Lower Plaza of the Palangana, at least fifteen ancient Post-Olmec and Terminal Preclassic monuments were resurrected and arranged on the surface, regardless of whether already broken or mutilated.

By A.D. 800, Kaminaljuyu was abandoned, though many other sites in the Valley of Guatemala continued to be occupied. Many of these had Late Classic ball courts. A number of other tenoned stone markers are associated with them throughout the valley—some found by the Pennsylvania State University survey. Therefore, the terminal Late Classic Pamplona ceramic subphase pertains mainly to scattered rural sites at a time of general population decline and dispersal. In contrast, this was the time of the culmination and domination of Cotzumalhuapa culture and stone sculpture throughout the Pacific Coast and in the neighboring Antigua Valley (Parsons 1969).[11] Further, it is the time of the culmination of Classic Lowland Maya art and civilization.

Although a final Postclassic "Late Mexican" Style Division VI could be defined for highland Guatemala, the contemporary small sites, with Ayampuc and Chinautla ceramic complexes in the Valley of Guatemala itself, have no known associated monumental sculptures. Such sculptures are rare on the Pacific Coast as well. Therefore, this last style period, mentioned largely for the sake of completeness, will not be reviewed in detail. Hilltop sites elsewhere in the highlands, and sites such as Tajumulco and Quen Santo in the west, produced many crude full-round sculptures and petroglyphs, as well as Postclassic versions of vertical pedestal sculptures and even tenoned ball court markers. Many of these show specific Mexican Toltec and Mixtec stylistic influence, though of course most of the indigenous highland Guatemala population was still ethnically Maya. This period, as well as the numerous small portable stone sculptures of all periods, are yet to be systematically analyzed from the viewpoint of art style.

[11] Although it is not directly pertinent to this Kaminaljuyu-oriented sculpture study to re-analyze or update the Cotzumalhuapa art style and monument inventory, it is noted, however, that since my 1969 Bilbao study seventeen more monumental sculptures have turned up at that site alone when the owner, Ricardo Muñoz, converted Finca Las Ilusiones from coffee to sugarcane production. The 1969 monument list ended at seventy-six; there are now ninety-three recorded monumental sculptures at Bilbao, Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa, the type site. Ichon and Cassier (1975), fortunately, have already published thirteen of these important new sculptures. In addition, two tall carved pillar-like stones (Monuments 88 and 89), found at the *finca* since Ichon's update, are presently on loan by Ricardo Muñoz to the Guatemalan National Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

Part Two: Synthesis of Art Style Development in Southeastern Mesoamerica

THE SPECIFIC SEQUENCE AT KAMINALJUYU must be examined within the broader cultural context of its development. Previously, I defined a geographical and cultural area in Mesoamerica called the Peripheral Coastal lowlands (Parsons 1978), a region that spans the Gulf Coast of Mexico (Veracruz and Tabasco), and crosses the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, to include the Southern Pacific Coast (Chiapas, Guatemala, and El Salvador). This long, continuous corridor is environmentally unified as coastal alluvial plain and piedmont, covered in pre-European times by tropical rain forest flora. It is peripheral to, and intermediate to, both the Mexican highlands and the greater Maya lowlands. The "Olmec heartland" is located in the center of this geographic zone that throughout Mesoamerican history served as a channel of communication between the two major areas of Mesoamerica. However, significant regional cultures developed in the Peripheral Coastal lowlands after the Olmec hegemony. This study concentrates on early developments in the Southern Pacific Coast region and the adjacent Chiapas-Guatemala highlands. This latter zone was always closely linked to the south coast, but also bounded the Central Maya lowlands on the north (see Maps 1–3). The coast and highlands, collectively, are referred to as the Southern Maya area.

We outline the perceived "sculptural style divisons" pertaining particularly to the Southern Pacific Coast and highlands (Table 1); while following those of Miles (1965) in spirit, there are departures in detail from her scheme (see Parsons 1981, footnote 1). General stages of chronology from Early Preclassic to Postclassic are predicated upon the conventional recognition of a Classic stage in the Maya area, its corpus of calendrical inscriptions, and the full Maya florescence in the central lowlands from C. A.D. 200 to 900; finer phases and periods follow those set up for Kaminaljuyu by Wetherington (1978). The sculpture style divisions (numbered I to VI) categorize the major developmental sequence in the Southern Maya area, and various substyles are defined in order to comprise the diversity of Preclassic material. Having described the sculptural content in chronological sequence, this section is a synopsis of historical events and sculpture style groups. Table 3 also provides a condensation of this review.

Style Division I (Early Olmec)

Whereas an Early Preclassic stage in Mesoamerica begins well before the thirteenth century B.C., in stone sculpture production we bracket the 1250–900 B.C. Early Olmec (Style Division I) period of precocious development at San Lorenzo, La Venta (its architectural and sculptural Phase I), Laguna de los Cerros, and to a minor degree at Tres Zapotes and other Olmec heartland sites. This division centers on the Gulf Coast just north of the Isthmus, and is surely "classical" Olmec. Antecedents for Olmec stone sculpture have not been found, and while negative data can offer no evidence, I now believe they never will be found in Mesoamerica, short of the miraculous preservation of wood sculpture of earlier times. Therefore, the primacy of monumental stone sculpture must be accorded to the Gulf Coast Olmec culture, however one might interpret its political economy. This assumption alone offers the basis for a coherent picture of the vast amount of sculpture and suggestive archaeological contexts that are available in the Peripheral Coastal lowlands.

Classical Olmec sculpture bursts forth on the archaeological scene with a stylistic naturalism in its emphasis on full-round human colossal stone

heads and seated figures, and its special class of massive thrones or altars with half-round seated figures in niches (cf. Milbrath 1979, and her Olmec stylistic Groups I and II). There also is an absence of stelae, with the possible exception of La Venta "Stela 1," the half-round standing human figure in a deep frame with a feline mouth "signature" above (cf. Fig. 1, upper). Somewhat before 900 B.C. and the first cataclysm at San Lorenzo, when its major monuments were apparently mutilated and rolled down ravines (Coe and Diehl 1980), the Olmecs were maintaining long distance contacts with already established traditions in the Mexican highlands and probably other areas (M. D. Coe 1965; Flannery 1968), contacts that are especially visible in early Tlatilco and Las Bocas ceramics. There is currently no special reason to identify the Early Preclassic Olmec people ethnically with the earliest Maya; their culture in that very early period is best considered both "non-Maya" and "non-Mexican" for all practical terms, even where their demonstrable contributions to subsequent high cultures—especially those of southeastern Mesoamerica—are undeniable. Lowe, Lee, and Martínez (1982: 307) specifically identify the Isthmus area, from the Olmec heartland to Izapa, as ethnically Mixe-Zoque from earliest times.

Parenthetically, however, perhaps we have been overly impressed by the "sudden" appearance of stone sculpture of great size and high aesthetic merit at one place and time, about 1200 B.C. But, are we not equally surprised by the tribal chiefdoms of Polynesia for their "unexpected" achievements in monumental effigy stone sculpture associated with the *marae* architectural compounds of Tahiti, the Marquesas, and especially Easter Island? Regardless of whether the brilliance of Olmec stone sculpture was perhaps preceded by a preparatory stage in now lost wood sculpture, it seems likely that the whole phenomenon appeared in relatively short archaeological time, when the economic and subsistence base was at a "nick point" for population growth and social differentiation. The dramatic materialization of large-scale stone sculpture along with massive public architecture does signal the embodiment of a concept of "permanence" if not the immortalizing of the hereditary establishment of a hierarchy of privileged personages who could control the energy and surplus production of the populace. We also may have been overawed by the terminal La Venta ceremonial compound, including its great thirty-meter-high conical mound and its symmetrical "Complex A." Michael Coe perhaps was disappointed in finding nothing so architecturally spectacular in pre-900 B.C. San Lorenzo, other than the possible massive reshaping of the *mesa* itself.

A multitude of factors have to be considered to account for incipient civilizations, and these are the concern of much recent literature, though this study will not address the problems of assessing comparative levels of socio-political integration. I make these brief observations to preface the study of admittedly just one aspect of civilization: its monumental art, and the eventual development of associated writing and calendrics. Even so limited a study also permits clues to the nature of other aspects of the development of civilizations. But this is not to belittle its central role in Mesoamerica:

> The monumental arts, hand in hand with spectacular ritual, provided validation for hierarchal society and maintained communication between administration and the populace. The invention of visual forms capable of denoting complex non-material entities and relations was no mean accomplishment for the fine arts. (Proskouriakoff 1971: 147)

Style Division II (Late Olmec)

During the Middle Preclassic stage (900–500 B.C.), Mesoamerica clearly becomes an interdependent "co-tradition" in time and space (Parsons n.d.), a co-tradition that begins to link together a variety of regional cultures presumably already at different levels of socio-political integration. The more detailed discussion of sculpture opens with the Late Olmec (Division II) group of monuments—called "Colonial Olmec" by Bernal (1969), though this label may be misleading in functional terms. We limit this first Middle

Preclassic division of continued classical Olmec domination to 900-700 B.C., equivalent to La Venta Phase II and the Nacaste phase at San Lorenzo. This phase immediately precedes the Mamom ceramic sphere in the Maya lowlands and also, significantly, a one-century "hiatus" at San Lorenzo (Table 1).

This, then, is the time of the spread of the Olmec "Horizon style" so apparent in the archaeology of most regions of Mesoamerica, from west Mexico to Honduras. The Middle Preclassic is also the period of the manufacture of the preponderance of carved Olmec jades, which were rare in the early San Lorenzo ceramic phase but abundant at late La Venta. Trade routes for the procurement of jade flourished both in west Mexico and probably the central highlands of Guatemala—and conceivably, but no longer positively, Costa Rica. (See Pohorilenko 1981, who argues that contact with Costa Rica was not made until the Late Preclassic.) At the same time there is widespread distribution of an Olmec "baby face" figurine complex—also present in the Kaminaljuyu Las Charcas phase—with its diagnostic central-punched eyes, as well as an extensive diffusion of Olmec style rock carvings, stone monuments, and even cave paintings. (See Map 1, where all of the indicated sites with stone sculptures outside the Olmec heartland pertain to our Late Olmec period.) Thus the Olmec Horizon style is especially evident in the area-wide distribution of ceramics, figurines, carved jades (and other small portable stones such as celts, votive axes, and some of the early stone masks), as well as a variety of monumental stone sculpture. A great many proto-glyphic symbols in the art appear at this time, along with the first reptilian-saurian profile "dragon" motifs, which have precedents in Early Olmec iconography.

Crucial to interpretation of the Late Olmec (900–700 B.C.) phase are Stelae 2 and 3 at La Venta which seem to reflect foreign contact and the inception of low-relief carving in an almost narrative, quasi-historical, manner. Related rock carvings and reliefs occur "simultaneously" throughout the Peripheral Coastal lowlands and at Chalcatzingo, Morelos, in the Central Mexican highlands. The cliff reliefs there are dated to this period by their principal investigator, David Grove (1974), though we argued that several of them should be assigned to the end, rather than the beginning, of the Middle Preclassic.

At the farthest extremes of Late Olmec expansion are the polychromed wall paintings in the caves of Oxtotitlan and Juxtlahuaca, Guerrero (Grove 1970), as well as the recently announced Olmec pictographs in a rock shelter above Lake Amatitlan in the central highlands of Guatemala (color slides presented by C. W. Clewlow, Jr., during the Society for American Archaeology meetings in San Diego, 1981). A small Olmec stone head fragment from the vicinity of El Porton, Baja Verapaz (Navarrete 1974: fig. 24) was found, conveniently close to the source of Manzanal jade.

North of the Olmec heartland on the Gulf Coast is the Late Olmec stela at Viejon, possibly near the point of departure of the "jade route" leading to highland Morelos and Guerrero (M. D. Coe 1965). On the south, one route led to the Chiapas Central Depression via the Grijalva River Valley where Lowe found a cache of Olmec celts (Lee and Navarrete, 1978: 64), and Navarrete found other portable Olmec sculptures, as well as the carved stela at Padre Piedra in the Chiapas highlands. The most even distribution of Late Olmec sculpture follows the Pacific Coast from the Isthmus to Guatemala. However, the rock carvings at Las Victorias, El Salvador, are no longer accepted as belonging to this earliest Middle Preclassic phase. The well-known petroglyphs at Pijijiapan and Abaj Takalik are assigned to this period, as well as other reliefs at Tonala and Tzutzuculi, Chiapas, and Suchitepequez, Guatemala (the "Shook Panel," cf. Fig. 3). There also is Late Olmec full-round sculpture on the coast at Ojo de Agua and at Abaj Takalik, but not yet at Kaminaljuyu (all documented in Part One).

Significantly, all these coastal sites are situated at the juncture of the coastal plain and the piedmont,

perhaps reflecting the actual route of intensive communication. This is also the ecological zone for commercial cacao trees. These Late Olmec art styles also may have stimulated what were to become quite different "Olmecoid" styles in the subsequent 700–500 B.C. era. In the Olmec heartland, in addition to the introduction of low-relief stelae and panels, there is a continuation of a variety of full-round sculpture, as well as colossal stone heads—specifically, the two stylistically late ones from Tres Zapotes. It may be noted here that the more recently found head, from nearby Cerro el Vigia, is probably even later.

Social process in the Late Olmec period may be characterized by reciprocal, and in some instances probably redistributive, relationships between the Olmec heartland and distant regions via economic trade routes (Parsons and Price 1971). Flannery's much quoted (1968) model, derived from his work in Oaxaca, applies to this period: in effect, already established and advanced non-Olmec regions, which had something to offer the Olmecs, emulated aspects of the prestigious Gulf Coast cultural symbolism and art style while maintaining their own stylistic and political integrity. In other words, very few of these distant sites can be considered outright colonies of the Olmec (with the possible exception of Chalcatzingo); but, following the model of Price (1977), all can be interpreted as members of an interacting cluster.

Conceivably, the stone carvings found may not have been executed by Gulf Coast craftsmen, but may be reinterpretations by various local artisans inspired by Olmec ideology. However, many portable objects such as jades—high in value but light in weight—were probably carried to these far-flung localities from the heartland. As already suggested, Stelae 2 and 3 at La Venta seem to demonstrate some of these foreign contacts and influences (if not confrontations and conflicts) in their bearded, aquiline-nosed, principal figures, and their indications of weaponry. The risks to Olmec integrity were high, as will be seen in the following phase, when the southern region actually began to dominate, and soon eclipse, the Gulf Coast Olmec tradition.

Style Division III (Post-Olmec)

The Post-Olmec style period (Division III) ranges from the end of the Middle Preclassic to the beginning of the Late Preclassic (700–200 B.C.; Table 1, Map 2). This period commences with a Transition subphase (700–500 B.C.) overlapping La Venta Phase IV (and probably III) and the Palangana phase at San Lorenzo, defined on the basis of the emergence of the new Danzante and Olmecoid substyles in the Southern Maya area. We focus first on the transition.

This coalescing Olmecoid phase, immediately following the Olmec Horizon in the Middle Preclassic, is structurally equivalent to the Teotihuacanoid subphase of the later Middle Classic horizon that I have defined previously (Parsons 1969). At this time, the Olmec heartland is in its terminal phase and in a large part becomes the receptor rather than the donor of the major sculptural arts. The Terminal Olmec period is aptly labeled "modified" Olmec by Lowe, Lee, and Martínez (1982: 121). However, the architectural, sculptural, and minor arts of La Venta IV indicate a final peak period of Olmec organization at that site. The observation that the final Olmec phases were profoundly influenced from the south was tentatively suggested by Proskouriakoff (1968), emphasized by Milbrath (1979), and also argued by Demarest (1976) from the viewpoint of ceramic spheres.

Greater cultural complexity throughout southeastern Mesoamerica characterizes the Late Olmec–Post-Olmec Transition, as diverse advanced cultures and art styles became established. This complexity is due only in part to prior involvement with the Gulf Coast Olmecs. Although the precocious Pacific Coast was preeminent in sculptural development, the first monumental sculptures also appear at Kaminaljuyu and the central Guatemalan highlands.

In the Olmec heartland there continues to be a

great variety of stone sculpture, much of it now reflecting modified Olmec (Olmecoid) traits. Included is one last colossal stone head at Cerro el Vigia, near Tres Zapotes, and one at San Miguel, near La Venta (Stirling 1957: pl. 50). The last Olmec-related rock carvings and stelae appear at such distant places as San Miguel Amuco, Guerrero (Grove and Paradis 1971), Chalcatzingo (particularly Relief 1), Xoc in the eastern foothills of Chiapas (Ekholm 1973), and Las Victorias, near Chalchuapa in western El Salvador (Fig. 4).

On the Gulf Coast, there is a perceptible shift of sculptural activity to many new sites northwest of the heartland, including stelae and columns at Cerro de la Piedra, Alvarado and El Meson, as well as in the Lake Catemaco vicinity. On the Pacific side, there is an intensification of sites with monumental sculpture from Tonala and Tiltepec, to Izapa and Abaj Takalik, and the region of Tiquisate and the Department of Escuintla. New classes of stone sculpture appearing in the southern area include the puffy-faced Tiltepec group, the conical-based "sin cabezas" group of full-round naturalistic figures, half-round niche figures usually in the jaws of monsters (Izapa, Abaj Takalik, and Los Cerritos-South), groove-incised monuments, U-shaped drain troughs (Izapa and Kaminaljuyu), plain and carved columnar basalts, and both tall and peg-based pedestal sculptures. This is also the time of the distribution of the unique, portable "bench figures" and certain stylistically related "mushroom stones," and of the associated appearances of the first hieroglyphs, basal bands, and scroll motifs.

All of this suggests intriguing implications with regard to the Gulf Coast, as discussed in specific sculpture comparisons in the body of this work, noting that most of the innovative features seem to be of southern origin and serve to explain some of the otherwise aberrant late sculptures at La Venta and Tres Zapotes. In addition, the early popularity of natural, volcanically crystalline columns of basalt, erected (as proto-stelae?) in and around Kaminaljuyu and other southern sites, is notable in relation to their contemporary popularity in the La Venta IV phase, where they were used both to describe a vertically columned precinct and in the construction of a walled and roofed tomb at the south end of "Complex A." The more complex matter of stone drain troughs in both regions and stylistic interchanges such as the bench-figure syndrome, puffy features, and scroll motifs, has been touched upon in Part One.

A new proto-Monte Alban Danzante style appears at this time, epitomized by Stela 9 at Kaminaljuyu (cf. Fig. 5); it includes a half-dozen related carvings in the Peripheral Coastal lowlands outside of Oaxaca. The remainder of the sculpture falls into a generalized Olmecoid style group. This precedes the proliferation of the specialized Monte Alto style of potbelly, boulder effigy, and colossal head sculptures of the ensuing Post-Olmec subphase, though the Olmecoid style persists during that chronological phase. An internal stylistic development in the south can be demonstrated, from the "sin cabezas" type sculptures (cf. Figs. 15–18) to both the pedestal sculptures and the Monte Alto "potbellies," as well as a general trend from naturalistic to "engaged relief" in full-round sculpture from the Transition to the Post-Olmec subphases.

On broader analysis, to reiterate, the earlier Transition phase corresponds to the seventh-century hiatus at San Lorenzo and its Palangana phase, as well as La Venta Phase IV—most recently dated by Heizer (1971: 52) from 600 to 500 (or 400) B.C., when that site was abandoned. Not without significance, this period also corresponds generally to the Mamom ceramic sphere in the Maya lowlands, the ceramically related Escalera (Chiapa III) phase at Chiapa de Corzo, as well as the contemporary Escalon early architectural phase at the site of Izapa (Lowe, Lee, and Martínez 1982). It is worth summarizing the conclusions of Arthur Demarest (1976: 100–102) who re-analyzed the Preclassic ceramics of Guatemala, Chiapas, and the southern Gulf Coast. Using 600 B.C. (I use 700 B.C.) as the turning point, he observed that all sites studied, including late La Venta and "lower" Tres Zapotes, began

participating in this Chiapa III and Mamom, early Maya, ceramic sphere. He thus emphasized the same conclusion that the Olmec heartland then became the receptor of southern early Maya traits, though he was not concentrating on our subject of stone sculpture. While not recognizing a discrete Post-Olmec epoch, he remarked that the succeeding Izapan phenomenon had a thorough Mayoid background, rather than Olmec. He also suggested that the great conical mound at La Venta may have been of southern inspiration (a suggestion we reinforce, below, in our Kaminaljuyu "profile"), and that decline of La Venta was due to this incipient Maya intrusion.

Our analysis of sculpture types supports the hypothesis that new art styles were transmitted from the Southern Maya area to the Gulf Coast during this era, thus partially explaining the interruption and degeneration of the Olmec tradition (as well as the seventh century "hiatus" at San Lorenzo) and demonstrating the emergence of a Mayoid tradition. This trend continued in subsequent Preclassic eras (Table 1, and Maps 2, 3).

The full expression of Post-Olmec (Division III) sculpture, then, occurs in the Late Preclassic (500–200 B.C.) when Southern Maya dominance in the sculpture field is beyond question. In substyles, the Danzante group continues, reaching its greatest elaboration at Monte Alban (Phase I), with associated early Zapotec writing. And there are two other related substyles in the south: Olmecoid and Monte Alto. At this time Kaminaljuyu becomes a key ceremonial center in its Providencia phase (with some twenty-five monumental stone sculptures), though numerous sites evenly distributed along the Pacific Coast rose to early heights as well (Map 2). Low-relief sculpture evolves in a non-Olmec direction, with a half dozen Olmecoid examples concentrated both at Kaminaljuyu and at Izapa, but apparently absent at Abaj Takalik—suggesting that the derivative Terminal Preclassic low-relief sculpture traditions evolve from developments at the former two sites. Plain stelae may have been erected at this time also, though they proliferate in the subsequent Izapan horizon. Full-round Olmecoid sculpture is widespread, emphasizing a kind of "engaged relief" on the surfaces of flat-backed monuments. Human, animal, and monster-masked representations abound, with a profusion of zoomorphic boulders and "altars," and a special class of feline-masked images in El Salvador. Top-band motifs on stelae, along with diving figures and a distinct trophy-head cult, make their initial appearance at this time.

In the regional Monte Alto style group, the smaller full-round "potbelly" types, often with flat backs, seem to precede the larger boulder human effigies, with their wrap-around limbs and closed eyes, found only at the type site and at Santa Leticia, El Salvador. The latter have been securely dated by Demarest, Switsur, and Burger (1982) from 400–100 B.C. (or 500 B.C.–A.D. 100 at outside limits). Nearly fifty of the earlier potbelly sculptures can be documented from the vicinity of Tonala, Chiapas, to Chalchuapa, El Salvador (Table 6). The greatest concentration, about a dozen, is known from Kaminaljuyu itself. Monte Alto's peculiar colossal stone heads, whose puffy features resemble the large boulder effigies at the same site, continue the old Olmec concept, but certainly post-date the Olmec series. A secure stylistic seriation here develops from "naturalistic" to "rude"—from the San Lorenzo and La Venta heads, to the Tres Zapotes pair, to the single Cerro el Vigia example, to the five at Monte Alto. Colossal stone heads do not reappear in the southern area until Classic period Cotzumalhuapa times. The Monte Alto heads and effigy boulders have been internally seriated by Hatch (n.d.), but the maximum span of the entire Monte Alto sculptural tradition cannot exceed 500 years (within the range of 600 to 100 B.C., in my estimation). The monster-masked Monte Alto Monument 3 (Fig. 72) is more in the Olmecoid style tradition. All the plain stelae at that site more likely belong to the Izapan period; however the specialized Monte Alto sytle is devoid of the low-relief sculpture so characteristic of Izapan horizon sites.

On the Gulf Coast, there are a few examples of Monte Alto potbelly-related sculptures from Polvaredas to Tres Zapotes to Piedra Labrada. We also find Olmecoid monster-masked monuments at Cerro de las Mesas and Medias Aguas. Of greater import is the initial presence of Southern Maya stone sculptural styles in the Maya lowlands during this Post-Olmec, Late Preclassic, era. A half dozen full-round Olmecoid or Monte Alto stone sculptures from Tikal and Copan to other Honduran sites were documented in Part One. It is in the following "Izapan horizon" in southeastern Mesoamerica that the great florescence of Southern Maya sculptural art occurs, with the associated development of ancestral Maya hieroglyphic texts and calendrics, and "proto-classical" Maya art styles.

Style Division IV (Izapan)

The Terminal Preclassic "Izapan" period (200 B.C.–A.D. 200), unlike the Post-Olmec period, has been accorded a great deal of attention in the literature, but with primary concentration on Izapa itself and the group of Cycle 7 dates on coastal lowland monuments. Only a few of the important sculptures (among over fifty total) from Kaminaljuyu have been generally recognized, and then usually treated as an "Izapan" variant rather than as a distinct corollary style. In this period three contemporary substyles of art are defined: the Izapan "narrative," clustering at the type site of Izapa, and the Miraflores and Arenal "proto-Maya" styles—the last two centering at Kaminaljuyu (Table 1, Map 3). All three influenced one another and evolved gradually out of the previous Post-Olmec styles in the area. On the Pacific Coast, sculptures from Abaj Takalik to Chalchuapa participated more in the Miraflores-Arenal tradition than the Izapan to the west. This was also a true regional florescent period in architecture, site development, and social evolution, as will be documented in some detail for Kaminaljuyu at the end of this section. Although conventionally called the Izapan horizon, considering the present view that the Izapa style is regionally limited, the term "Miraflores horizon" would be preferable in order to favor the now-recognized more innovative and widely influential substyle. We have noted that the fewer southern sites with stone sculpture suggest concentration of power at those key sites.

Concomitant precocious developments emerge in the Central Maya lowlands, especially after 100 B.C., and the role of the Southern Maya—especially the Kaminaljuyu sphere—as a contributing factor in art, iconography, and sculpture is significant. Before A.D. 50, southern influence appears in the lowlands, primarily in the guise of architectural reliefs and wall painting; after that time the influence manifests itself more strongly in the stela-altar cult and occasional associated inscriptions. According to W. R. Coe (1965a) the period 100 B.C.–A.D. 100 saw the invention of the corbeled vault and the first real florescence of architecture in the Peten. By the Early Classic (Transition) period (A.D. 200–400), sculptural activity in the southern area waned, when at the same time Early Maya sculpture in the central lowlands was leading to the formulation of mature Classic Maya art and its long-count calendrical inscriptions. This apparent shift of dominance to the Central Maya, with correlative weakening of the Southern Maya, may have facilitated Teotihuacan intrusion in the south by A.D. 400.

Sculptural styles of Division IV are more diverse, complex, and specialized than before, and lend themselves to finer subdivisions that can be suggested mainly stylistically, in the absence of finer archaeological control. Even our former confidence in the recognition of sequent Verbena and Arenal phases at Kaminaljuyu has diminished, given Wetherington's (1978) intergrading of their ceramic types. He defined Verbena and Arenal as *sub*phases of the Terminal "Formative," with very little differences in shared ceramic types; the two subphases are defined primarily on the basis of percentage variations in frequencies. Therefore, however discerning earlier archaeologists had been in assigning certain Kaminaljuyu sculptures

to either Verbena or Arenal on the basis of ceramic associations, such phase attributions cannot always be accepted on face value. Some sculptures formerly assigned to the Arenal phase could just as well belong to Verbena times.

While the name Verbena is again adopted for the earlier ceramic phase, it should be noted that it was once also called Miraflores (Shook and Kidder 1952: 40). This study, however, employs the name Miraflores for a substyle of stone sculpture lasting through both the Verbena and Arenal ceramic phases. Our Arenal *sculptural* style is also best viewed as corollary and lasting through the same two subphases of the Terminal Preclassic. Thus we are freed to recognize earlier and later subdivisions for both classes of sculpture. The earlier Verbena phase was clearly the more florescent period, with about forty Kaminaljuyu sculptures (one-third of the site total, in both Miraflores and Arenal style) assigned to it, but with only about fifteen that seem to belong to the later Protoclassic subphase. While these observations may seem to complicate an already complex picture, they actually simplify the perceived overlapping stylistic situations. We have found that any proposed linear development linking the many styles of the Preclassic cannot be justified, as Proskouriakoff cautioned (1968).

Consequently, in addition to distinguishing the Miraflores and Arenal sculptural substyles, chronological separation of *both* substyles into earlier examples of the Verbena ceramic phase (200–1 B.C.) and later examples of the Protoclassic Arenal ceramic phase (A.D. 1–200) is possible and productive. Further, the central period, 50 B.C.–A.D. 50, seems particularly significant for definition of proto-Maya sculptures: from Kaminaljuyu Stela 10 (with its earliest incised "ancestral Maya" text; cf. Fig. 175), to other stelae with late Cycle 7 dates or columns of inscriptions, to the Horcones phase carved bones at Chiapa de Corzo. From A.D. 50 to 200, southern sculpture outside of Izapa itself becomes more obviously Early Maya (cf. Monument 42 at Bilbao, Fig. 183, and Stela 2 at Kaminaljuyu, Fig. 182); there is also an early Cycle 8 stela with a long-count calendrical inscription at Abaj Takalik (A.D. 126; Graham 1979).

In the early phase (200–50 B.C.), Izapa and Kaminaljuyu seem to have been of equal importance in sculptural production, although each was developing in its own direction. However, Stela 11 at Kaminaljuyu (Fig. 169) shows decided early Izapan influence, as do a few other early monuments. Later in the period, the Kaminaljuyu sphere of sculpture styles becomes dominant; and Abaj Takalik, as well as other sites along the Guatemalan coast (such as Chocola, Bilbao, and El Baul), participate with related innovations, especially in recorded calendrical formulations. As mentioned these coastal sculptures are closer to Miraflores and Arenal than to Izapan. If one follows Malmstrom's (1973) astronomical extrapolation, which determined that obervations permitting the origin of the Mesoamerican calendar would have been most apparent near 15° north latitude, Abaj Takalik was perfectly situated; hence the appearance there of some of the earliest long-count dated stelae, such as Stelae 2 and 5 (and Stela 1 at El Baul, not far to the east).

After 50 B.C., we find a blossoming of monuments with columns of glyphs, including the site of Kaminaljuyu, as well as Chalchuapa, El Salvador (Sharer 1978) and El Porton, Baja Verapaz (Sharer and Sedat 1973). Actually, there are almost a dozen examples with undeciphered or eroded glyph columns in this area—most of them, incidentally, in an Arenal-related art style. In the Protoclassic period, Izapa sculpture per se, however, comes to an "involuted" dead end (cf. its "tree of life" Stela 5; Norman 1976: 165–239), while the Miraflores substyle becomes increasingly Early Maya.

Interestingly, Lowe, Lee, and Martínez (1982: 139) now see the Hato phase at Izapa (50 B.C.–A.D. 100) as not only the termination of sculptural production but also as the very occupation of the central mound groups, with a shift northward to Group F. Significantly, this phenomenon is accompanied by the intrusion of a new southeastern Protoclassic ceramic complex. Was the southeastern Kaminaljuyu cultural sphere, at its proto-

Maya height, actually responsible for the demise of the neighboring Izapa tradition? Simultaneously we have noted evidence of incipient troubled times during the Protoclassic at Kaminaljuyu itself, as reflected in smashed and defaced monuments as well as possible warfare (cf. Stela 2, Fig. 182)—perhaps precipitated by conflicting dynasties and even rivalries with the emerging Lowland Maya powers. Do our perceived Arenal and Miraflores substyles of art themselves mirror two competing lineages at Kaminaljuyu? Although the clues are suggestive, it is premature to make conclusive socio-political deductions on the basis of art styles alone.

In Style Division IV, low-relief sculpture predominates. Only a small group of relatively naturalistic full-round sculpture continues, such as the "Miraflores toad altars," and is assigned to the Verbena phase. Carved stelae are now normally paired with altars, heralding a new cult or complex later adopted by the Lowland Maya. Plain stelae are also abundant at most sites in our area. These could well have been painted in a freer art style than represented in the low relief—a style which, if it survived, might demonstrate even closer ties to earliest Maya murals, such as those found on the painted Cauac phase walls at Tikal (W. R. Coe 1965a). These stelae also may have borne painted calligraphy, first preserved on stone in the cursive incised text on Stela 10 at Kaminaljuyu. Evidence that such plain monuments may once have been prepared for painting occurs at Kaminaljuyu: a rectangular slab, found in a tomb and associated with other Preclassic sculpture, was stained with red ochre except for one side surfaced with white stucco—without, unfortunately, surviving traces of overpainting (Cheek 1977: 174).

Innovative sculptural forms include the "silhouetted reliefs" and four-legged altars or thrones. New subject matter includes discrete celestial and opposing terrestrial deities, serpent-winged monsters, as well as ball-player references. Prior Post-Olmec iconography may have been predominantly mythological and cosmological in content; the same tradition becomes reinforced in the specialized and even more complex early Izapan narrative style. The composition of Izapan stelae usually comprises a highly variable central descriptive and symbolic theme framed by a terrestrial band below and a celestial band above.

The later Protoclassic examples at Izapa, on the other hand, seem to become more historical in content. At Kaminaljuyu, especially in the Miraflores subdivision, we begin to discern an emphasis on single standing figures, with elaborate accouterments and costuming, that suggest the depiction of hierarchal real personages and even historical dynasties, perhaps including god impersonators with claim to divine descent. Proto-Maya features at Kaminaljuyu include a multitude of individual symbolic motifs, glyph emblems, and double scroll forms. These elements, further, are stylistically and thematically integrated in a Mayoid direction. And, of course, there are the bar-and-dot long-count inscriptions and stones with paired columnar texts that reinforce the historical interpretation, which is to become a major theme of Classic Maya art.

Once again, geographical distribution (Map 3) suggests the scope of some of these developments during the Izapan horizon. In this period, the Southern Maya area overshadowed all other regions in the art of stone sculpture, with its two centers at Izapa and Kaminaljuyu and a few satellite sites; in the more peripheral regions are stylistic offshoots at Tonala, Chiapa de Corzo, Chinkultic, La Lagunita (El Quiche), El Porton (Baja Verapaz), and Chalchuapa (El Salvador). These styles also had renewed manifestations in the Cerro de las Mesas-El Meson-Tres Zapotes district on the Gulf Coast, and at Tepatlaxco nearby (including the famed Cycle-7 dated Stela C at Tres Zapotes). This Gulf Coast Izapan variant also led into the local Early Classic Cerro de las Mesas stela style (also with bar-and-dot calendrical inscriptions) with all its Late Preclassic mannerisms or archaisms. The Monte Alban II phase in Oaxaca also shows some Izapan influence (both in sculpture and occasional pottery), as do the "ball player" panels at nearby Dainzu.

In the greater Maya lowlands, the most distant stylistic contact is evident in the cave relief at Loltun, Yucatan. In the Central lowlands, a number of new southern-derived art forms have been recovered in association with the Late Preclassic Chicanel ceramic sphere. In the earlier phase there are a few miscellaneous sculptured stone fragments and frescoes, as well as sculptured and polychromed architectural facades with grotesque masks. The E-VII-sub masks at Uaxactun have long been known, but others are now reported from Tikal and Mirador in the Peten, and from Lamanai and Cerros in Belize. Iconographic elements of these are obviously derived from the south, though their stylistic integration, and the very concept of "sculptured pyramids," may be local (David Freidel, personal communication). In the later phase, low-relief altars and stelae occur in the lowlands, again demonstrating relationships with the Southern Maya area. (All are specified in Part One.)

Finally, the Early Maya "Transition" phase (A.D. 200–400) in the southern area unlike the central lowland area, was relatively devoid of stone sculpture, unless plain stelae may have become the favored medium in this period—a suggestion prompted by the large plain stela excavated in front of Aurora phase Mound D-III-13 at Kaminaljuyu (Berlin 1952). Also, Terminal Preclassic monuments may have continued to be displayed and honored, though many of these would soon be effaced, smashed, and scattered, if not already subjected to such treatment. However, we have in addition the intriguing mud-sculptured facades on Aurora phase Mounds D-III-1 and D-III-13 at Kaminaljuyu— and these may represent reverse diffusion from the Maya lowlands during this ephemeral pre-Mexican era in the highlands. Wetherington (1978) also describes this Aurora phase at Kaminaljuyu as ceramically transitional, with a continuation of some Arenal types and the beginning of new Amatle 1 ceramic types and modes. However, as suggested in the text, the El Quiche and Baja Verapaz highland regions may have supported an "out-of-the-mainstream," Arenal-derived, sculptural style during this Early Classic interim.

A period of extreme vulcanism that centered in western El Salvador at this time (c. A.D. 250; Sheets 1979) may have induced severe disruptions of agricultural productivity in much of the Southern Maya region, perhaps accompanied by political instabilities. In contrast, the Central lowlands experienced comparative stability during this period, with continued demographic and economic growth (stimulated in part, perhaps, by immigration?) that would have enhanced a dynastic society already validated by a compelling local Early Classic art style. We might surmise that the Central lowland area assumed an increasing intellectual and religious leadership as well. Additionally, any postulated weakening of the Southern Maya region may have made this area a potential target for the expanding Mexican states, most particularly Teotihuacan—both for access to exotic economic resources and as a port of entry to the potentially competitive Central Maya area.

Style Division V (Early Mexican)

By A.D. 400, and probably slightly before, Teotihuacan entrepreneurs had started moving through the Gulf Coast, seeking advantages with distant lands to the south. Although economic and mercantile activity may have been the primary motivation for expansion, there is also some evidence of a military component—with both the merchants and warriors spiritually guided by aspects of Teotihuacan religion and ideology, if not actually accompanied by itinerant state priests.

The northerners first established themselves on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala, and from there took over a preexisting religious incense-burner offering cult at Lake Amatitlan, located on the pass between coastal Escuintla and the Valley of Guatemala. According to Berlo (n.d.), the Teotihuacan composite incense-burner complex, so abundant at Lake Amatitlan and on the Escuintla coast, is replete with warrior symbolism as well as the more obvious Mexican Tlaloc rain-god sym-

bolism. Berlo states in particular that Teotihuacan "warrior-butterfly" symbolism predominates in Escuintla, while a mixture of Maya and Mexican rain-god symbolism pervades the iconography of the lake offerings. Therefore, a military component of this Mexican intrusion cannot be discounted along the Pacific Coast, though some syncretism may be observed in the highlands. Kaminaljuyu soon became the primary locus for a "port-of-trade" (Brown 1977), that linked on the one hand the rich Pacific Coast cacao-growing belt, and on the other the new Maya power that had established itself in the much more distant Central lowlands. While Teotihuacan emissaries made significant infiltrations into the Peten during the early Middle Classic (especially well documented at Tikal), they were dramatically successful in diverting the orientation of Kaminaljuyu in the highlands.

Two large sites, Solano and Frutal, between Kaminaljuyu and Lake Amatitlan, were crucial participants in this port-of-trade hypothesis (Brown 1977). The first had Teotihuacan-inspired architecture; the second retained native Maya architecture, had an early ball court with a Teotihuacanoid stone marker, and had considerable imported south coast pottery types during the Middle Classic (unlike Kaminaljuyu itself). This evidence seems to imply a relatively peaceful tone to Teotihuacan's integration of the Valley of Guatemala, as well as the maintenance of subsidiary trade-contact centers with the coast. While Kaminaljuyu may not have become a directly controlled Teotihuacan "colony," the process that the Central Mexican state may have planned was incipient empire-building. However, when they couldn't conquer, they placated. Kaminaljuyu in this period seems to be characterized by neutral co-existence, consistent with a "port-of-trade" hypothesis. With the decline of Teotihuacan itself, the whole process was cut short in the seventh century; a political empire was never established in the Maya area, at least not on the scale that the Toltec successors apparently accomplished.

The Middle Classic period, A.D. 400–700 (Parsons 1969) is defined archaeologically on the basis of the domination of a Teotihuacan "horizon style," especially in its early facet. In the Southern Maya area, this Early Mexican intrusion is abundantly represented in the ceramics of Tiquisate and the Department of Escuintla, as well as the underwater offerings at Lake Amatitlan (Borhegyi 1959, 1966). Eclectically decorated Teotihuacan style cylindrical tripod vases and composite incense burners with moldmade Teotihuacan "adornos" are predominant (Hellmuth 1975, 1978; Berlo n.d.). The coast also saw the introduction of a new Peripheral Coastal lowland stone sculptural style, usually with ritual ball game associations (including, of course, the portable stone yokes and *hachas,* as well as architectural ball courts—much of this complex having been assimilated on the Gulf Coast). At the site of Kaminaljuyu we not only begin to see this new sculptural style but also replicas of Teotihuacan architecture, Teotihuacan pottery styles (with the notable paucity of incense burners just discussed), and well-stocked elite Esperanza tombs honoring the high-ranking foreign intruders. The mixture of both Mexican- and Mayan-decorated pottery in these tombs, and other evidence, suggests that the Teotihuacanos nonetheless were living alongside, and to some extent integrated with, the native Maya population in the Valley of Guatemala. Intermarriages also probably took place between foreign and local nobility.

At Kaminaljuyu during the Esperanza-Amatle I phase (A.D. 400–600; see Table 1), the foreign enclaves concentrated in the Acropolis and Palangana district with their *talud-tablero* temple-pyramid complexes, built their most impressive temple-burial mounds far to the southeast (Mounds A and B), and perhaps tried to establish their authority over the rest of the site by strategically placed north-south ball courts with sculptured stone markers (Map 4)—assuming that the "game" was not a sport at this time but rather a formal expression of a state religion, and probably a ritual means for selecting worthy human sacrifices as well. Therefore, one essential cohesive

ideological factor for Teotihuacan's accepted presence at Kaminaljuyu during the Middle Classic, other than the economic advantages, may well have been the Gulf Coast-derived cult of ball game ritual, and only secondarily a Tlaloc rain-god pilgrimage cult at Lake Amatitlan—both, of course, with indigenous Maya variations. (Could the severed heads found in the major Esperanza tombs [Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: 90] have been the privileged trophies of ball game sacrifice?) We suggested in the text that one engraved skull may have belonged to a Maya nobleman. The whole sacrificial-ritual ball game complex in this period has been described previously for the coast (Parsons 1969). Concomitantly, the Late Preclassic Maya "stela-altar" cult had been effectively suppressed in the highlands.

Ball courts in the Southern Maya area generally have been assumed to be Late Classic, as indeed the majority probably are. Brown (1973), however, has conclusively demonstrated that his excavated court B-III-5 at Kaminaljuyu is early Middle Classic (at least as early as A.D. 400). In his general analysis of all ball courts in the valley, he further suggests that the open-ended, north-south oriented courts precede the Late Classic enclosed, east-west oriented courts. At Kaminaljuyu, excavated Ball Courts "G" (B-III-5) and "B" (C-II-7)—the latter located halfway between the Middle Classic Acropolis and Palangana—certainly fit the early Amatle 1 pattern, as courts "C" (C-III-3) and "D" (D-IV-6) presumably do. The remaining eight ball courts at Kaminaljuyu (there is an unprecedented total of twelve; Map 4) apparently follow the late, Amatle 2, pattern; two of these were also professionally excavated.

The origins of ball court architecture in Mesoamerica are still obscure, though the game was universal and had quite early Preclassic roots. Teotihuacan has no known ball court other than one represented in a Tepantitla mural. However, there is a recent report of a Middle Classic ball court west of Teotihuacan in Michoacan with *talud-tablero* architectural details (Weaver 1981: 221). The El Tajin, Veracruz, ball courts may have been established by A.D. 400 also, although we have not seen thorough excavation data on these courts. The Gulf Coast is certainly the place of origin for portable ball game stone paraphernalia (yokes, *hachas,* and *palmas*). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this particular complex was carried south along the coastal lowlands by the Teotihuacanos and their allies, and introduced to the Pacific Coast and the Valley of Guatemala—though a Preclassic version of the game itself was already known there. I have also shown that the associated horizontally tenoned stone sculptures have their origin at Teotihuacan (Parsons 1969). While there are unsolved problems concerning the time and place of origin of architectural ball courts, the two phases of ball court construction, during the final Middle Classic phase of Kaminaljuyu's history, are surely associated with the Mexican occupation.

The very large site of Frutal, farther south in the valley, has an early north-south oriented ball court with a tenoned stone marker. The fact that Frutal also has considerable Middle Classic pottery of diagnostic coastal types, suggests that the court and the sculpture complex was transmitted to Kaminaljuyu from the coast via this site—a site, significantly, otherwise lacking in Mexican-inspired architecture. Recall, also, the presumably early Middle Classic north-south open-ended courts, with tenoned death's head sculptures at Palo Gordo and Nueva Linda on the Pacific Coast. These provide a reinforcing clue to the possible role of the ball game in "pacifying" established Southern Maya ceremonial centers on the route to Kaminaljuyu.

The seventh century (early Amatle 2 phase) witnessed newly constructed east-west oriented ball courts and more ball-game-associated stone sculpture, as well as gradual Teotihuacan withdrawal from Kaminaljuyu. As supply lines and communications were being cut off from the already declining home site, the isolated Guatemalan Teotihuacan enclaves were probably becoming increasingly absorbed and Mayanized. The eighth century (early Late Classic) saw the dissolution of

Kaminaljuyu coupled with a resurgence of the local Highland Maya. We suggest, contrary to Cheek (1977: 12), that in this period the Lower Plaza of the Palangana became a "monument plaza" for a revivalistic cult of the native Maya. Rows of Preclassic Maya monuments, including potbelly sculptures, were collected and set up there around an old Teotihuacan-Esperanza shrine during the eighth century, before Kaminaljuyu was entirely abandoned. (Also see our profile of Kaminaljuyu at the end of this section.)

By this time the fully developed regional coastal Cotzumalhuapa stone sculpture style dominated the Southern Maya area—at least on the Pacific Coast and in the Antigua Valley—lasting until the end of the Late Classic, c. A.D. 950. The remnants of the local Highland Maya culture in the vicinity of Kaminaljuyu seem to have been strong enough to resist inroads by the late coastal Cotzumalhuapa culture. Nevertheless, a few Late Classic Cotzumalhuapa-related sculpture types, and stone yokes and *hachas,* reached the Maya sites of Quirigua and Copan in the Motagua Valley region. After A.D. 800, in the Valley of Guatemala, many other rural sites (still with ball courts) were occupied, but the history of Kaminaljuyu itself had come to an end.

Parallel Middle Classic events in the Maya lowlands witnessed the sporadic incorporation of Teotihuacan iconography on stone sculpture as early as the outset of Cycle 9 (A.D. 435). Further, as Coggins has demonstrated (1979), at Tikal a royal dynasty was introduced by highland-derived Teotihuacanos in the fifth century. Although from A.D. 535 to 600 the customary erection of commemorative-dated Maya monuments was suppressed, the presence of these foreign emissaries in the lowlands—unlike the highlands—ultimately resulted in more of a stimulus than a threat, for the Late Classic saw the resumption of the stela-altar cult and became the great period of Lowland Maya civilization.

Some interesting anomalies seem to characterize the Middle Classic period in the Southern Maya area. First of all, the Cotzumalhuapa sculptural style, beginning about A.D. 400, contemporary with the first Teotihuacan intrusions, was extremely eclectic, borrowing from Central Mexico, Veracruz, and Oaxaca—and at the same time retaining archaistic coastal Izapan features. On the basis of this profound shift in art style, it is possible to suggest that the coastal area became culturally, and perhaps ethnically, non-Maya.

The numerous Teotihuacan style incense burners on the lower reaches of the coastal plain are capable of various interpretations, not necessarily mutually exclusive. They may represent the folk version of a foreign cult, one which, however, does not include the entire spectrum of the contents of its metropolitan parent. Berlo (n.d.) emphasizes the martial character of the iconography (not a major theme at Teotihuacan itself; these differences might indicate ideological modification of Mexican religion under changed political conditions, and simultaneously, a possible mechanism for the spread of this foreign ideology among the local population). Lake Amatitlan, in any case, became a pilgrimage center for the new cult, as it had been in previous Maya periods; ritual offerings of censers were cast into the lake from the south shore. Interestingly, the sites of the higher piedmont and the Guatemalan highlands do not manifest this cult, though they do have the ball game cult; the influence of Teotihuacan is apparent in very different ways, possibly depending on resistance or lack of it.

The real test for the Teotihuacanos was the indigenous site of Kaminaljuyu in the Valley of Guatemala—the largest single site in the region, the one that probably supported the greatest concentration of local Maya elite, and the dominant center of political and potential economic power. More than an introduced folk cult would be indicated as a means of "pacifying" this critical zone. We have already mentioned the possible role of the ball game cult. Again, the military symbolism in ceramics does not rule out the use of force, a suggestion perhaps bolstered if the abraded and broken condition of the Preclassic monuments can be linked to this foreign penetration.

Yet considerable syncretism attends the Teoti-

huacan-Maya relationship at Kaminaljuyu: Maya Preclassic sculptures, albeit already mutilated, were displayed prominently in direct association with Teotihuacan architecture, on the frontal platforms of Mounds A and B. The scaled Stela 7 was found in the collapsed fill of Tomb A-V; the abraded Altar 2 was once displayed on Platform B-4; the head apparently lopped from a potbelly sculpture (Monument 38) was also from Platform B-4; and another large fragment, Stela 6, was "disrespectfully" reused as foundation pavement on the summit of Structure B-4. Interestingly, a few Maya style incense burners were used *on* these platforms, while concurrently a few Teotihuacan-derived censers were buried in the underlying tombs (cf. Berlo n.d.: 287–288). Similarly, within an Esperanza-Amatle 1 tomb at the Palangana (Cheek 1977: 169–175), we encounter the secondary deposit of an important (unmutilated) Preclassic stone sculpture (Monument 63). Therefore, we witness here some obeisance to the Maya tradition during this peak Mexican period, and the Esperanza elite tomb pottery in Mounds A and B indicates the perpetuation of alliances of Kaminaljuyu with the Central Maya lowlands. Simultaneously, an entirely new sculptural style, mainly comprising tenoned ball court sculptures and several carved slabs in Teotihuacanoid style, plus a few miscellaneous human head monuments, had been introduced. However, the full nature of Teotihuacan-Maya syncretism at Kaminaljuyu is yet to be satisfactorily analyzed. I have merely put forth some of the complexities which will have to be considered in such a study.

The primary distribution of Division V (Early Mexican) stone sculpture was along the Pacific Coast. For present purposes the earlier subdivision may be called "Teotihuacanoid" and the later "Cotzumalhuapan," covering the entire Middle and Late Classic period, A.D. 400–950. My previous analysis of these styles (Parsons 1969) divided the Cotzumalhuapa style into two sequent phases: an eclectic "narrative" style and a regional "portrait" style, associated respectively with the Laguneta (Middle Classic) and Santa Lucia (Late Classic) ceramic phases at Bilbao (Table 1). Now my focus is on the manifestations in the Valley of Guatemala, where the earlier eclectic Teotihuacanoid sculpture types are more prevalent.

At Kaminaljuyu there are over twenty stone sculptures of the general Middle Classic period (A.D. 400–700). The predominant class of sculpture at that site comprises sixteen horizontally tenoned stone heads, originally attached to the side walls of the ball courts as markers for scoring during the game. Half of the extant examples were reliably excavated in the centers of ball courts at Kaminaljuyu. These specialized stone heads depict serpents, parrots, jaguars, and monkeys or humans. The first two types often show a human head in their open mouths. They tend to be carved in matched pairs for the opposite sides of a ball court. Also at Kaminaljuyu are two panels carved with Teotihuacanoid motifs (Stelae 13 and 23) as well as several rather distinctive full-round human head sculptures (Monuments 10, 12, and 61), which have a decided early "Cotzumalhuapan" cast. One salient feature of the general Cotzumalhuapan art style, other than its ball game thematic emphasis, is an archaizing revival of the Preclassic colossal stone head concept. There is such a head at Abaj Takalik (Monument 7; Fig. 195), in addition to the others inventoried in the Bilbao monograph (Parsons 1969), and a few more discussed and illustrated earlier in this work. Moreover, there is a wide distribution of ball game stone yokes and *hachas* (which also have been found at Kaminaljuyu), and even late *palmas* in El Salvador.

After the eighth century and the demise of Kaminaljuyu, and after the brief Maya resurgence there (e.g., the Palangana "monument plaza"), a number of other Late Classic sites flourished in the Valley of Guatemala and on the Pacific Coast, but Kaminaljuyu was never rebuilt nor reoccupied. These observations bring to an end this synthesis of stone sculpture development, as no Postclassic monumental sculptures are reported from the Valley of Guatemala.

Style Division VI (Late Mexican)

Never thoroughly studied for its sculptural styles, the contents of the Postclassic period (A.D. 950–1550) are often misunderstood, with, until quite recently, many of the well-published Classic Cotzumalhuapa sculptures confused with the Postclassic. Style Division VI, in fact, encompasses extensions of both the Toltec and Mixtec horizons styles in Mesoamerica, and comprises a great number of relatively crude and rigid full-round sculptures, as well as petroglyphs. There is a revival of vertical pedestal sculptures, but the style of the surmounting figures and low-relief additions should not be confused with the Preclassic examples. There are also more Postclassic ball court markers. Most of these stone sculptures seem to be more Mexican inspired than Highland Maya. Major published sites with quantities of "Late Mexican" sculptures include Tajumulco (Dutton and Hobbs 1943) and Quen Santo (Villacorta and Villacorta 1927) in Guatemala's far western highlands. A single example that all travelers to Guatemala are familiar with is the hilltop idol outside of Chichicastenango, still worshipped by the Quiche Maya Indians. (See Miles 1965: figs. 18e and 19e, for two other diagnostic examples.) On the coast, Postclassic sculptures are found around Tonala, Chiapas, and Tazumal, El Salvador.

Profile of the Kaminaljuyu Sequence

In view of the present effort to publish all the monumental sculpture from Kaminaljuyu, and in view of the relatively recent publications resulting from Sanders's thorough excavations there, it would be well to conclude by outlining the current information on cultural development at that site (see Table 2). Kaminaljuyu's sequence also serves as a model for events that affected sites on the Pacific Coast, though many of the latter had earlier Preclassic beginnings and each, of course, had its own distinctive periods of peak development. Kaminaljuyu itself did not come into prominence until the end of the Middle Preclassic. The ceramic phases and the chronological alignments, outlined in Table 1, precisely follow those of Wetherington (1978), as well as those of most of the other authors in the Pennsylvania State University series of six volumes. It does not serve the purpose of this monograph, however, to describe the principal ceramic types defining the Kaminaljuyu sequence.[12] Instead, we shall summarize the events and the architecture of Kaminaljuyu from the first Arevalo phase to the last Amatle phase.

The named Early Preclassic "Arevalo" phase at Kaminaljuyu is based only upon the limited presence of coastal-type Preclassic sherds in scattered fill; however, there is no evidence of settled occupation at the site before 900 B.C. Apparently it was the Pacific maritime sites that were more prominent in the Southern Maya area during classical Olmec times.

The Middle Preclassic stage (900–500 B.C.) at

[12] "Old-timers" will notice that certain ceramic phase names once in use for Kaminaljuyu have been dropped (such as Majadas, Sacatepequez, Miraflores, Santa Clara, and perhaps "Amatle 3"). The term "Majadas" refers to an early specialized pottery type now subsumed chronologically under Providencia, and "Sacatepequez" is another ceramic assemblage featuring white-paste wares centering in the uplands west of Kaminaljuyu and contemporary with (if not beginning earlier than) Providencia—but also sharing many basic types. "Verbena" is adopted in place of the more general term "Miraflores" in the Terminal Preclassic. The old "Santa Clara" label was simply assigned to a group of mammiform-footed Usulutan pottery types actually subsumed in the Arenal subphase.

Certain problems with the Middle and Late Classic pottery groups have been resolved as follows. As Borhegyi suggested long ago (1965), Esperanza pottery is primarily restricted to the elite components of the tombs in Mounds A and B. Amatle 1 pottery, found in the fill of the same mounds and elsewhere, is the contemporary (A.D. 400–600) local output. Hence, the named Esperanza-Amatle 1 phase, with functionally differing components. Various authors in the Kaminaljuyu Project volumes differ in terminating a "Middle Classic" stage at A.D. 600 or at A.D. 700, depending upon their purposes. However, with regard to ceramic phases, Wetherington defines an "early" Late Classic (A.D. 600–800) and a "late" Late Classic division (A.D. 800–c. 950). The latter, of course, is subsequent to the abandonment of Kaminaljuyu. Ceramically, however, these two divisions are *sub*phases of the Late Classic; the earlier is called Amatle 2 and the later, Pamplona. (Some authors employ an "Amatle 3" label for the terminal part of this sequence.) The Postclassic Ayampuc and Chinautla phases apply mainly to other sites in the valley.

Kaminaljuyu, defined by Las Charcas phase pottery, has only sparse occupation, characterized by nucleated villages, mainly on the northeast shore of the local shallow lake (Map 4), that constitute a settlement of perhaps a total of 1000 people. There is almost no surviving evidence of permanent architecture, and only indirect evidence of the first monumental stone sculpture (if we accept some reused sculpture of Providencia ceramic association as belonging to the prior phase). As mentioned in the discussion of Stela 9, Mound C-III-6 may well have had a Las Charcas phase substructure. Unfortunately, Sanders's team did not reinvestigate the El Naranjo site just northwest of Kaminaljuyu (see Williamson 1877; Villacorta and Villacorta 1927), where rows of plain columnar basalts were erected. This small site may well pertain to this early period. The use of both plain and carved basalt columns seems to be diagnostic of this transitional Post-Olmec era. These may not only have been set up in alignments but as ceremonial enclosures, or even as "proto" stelae—not only at El Naranjo but at the Kaminaljuyu center. Some of the early freestanding vertical pedestal sculptures also belong to this complex. Las Charcas pottery, including diagnostically Olmecoid figurines and roller stamps, was mainly recovered in bell-shaped refuse pits and the mixed fill of later occupations at Kaminaljuyu.

Once again, sculptural activity was more concentrated on the south coast at such Middle Preclassic sites as Izapa (conceivably the terminal Escalon phase) and Abaj Takalik, as well as El Balsamo and Los Cerritos-South in Escuintla. In addition, the Chimaltenango and Canchon plateau zones on either side of Kaminaljuyu seem to have been the locus of most pedestal sculptures, bench figures, and effigy mushroom stones in the highlands—now presumed to be late Middle Preclassic. (This provenience information comes mainly from local private collectors; none of the sites has been professionally excavated.)

It is at the outset of the Late Preclassic Providencia phase (500–200 B.C.) that we find secure evidence of the appearance of the first civic architecture and "ceremonial centers" on the shores of the now extinct lake at Kaminaljuyu. There also is a proliferation of Post-Olmec monumental stone sculpture at the site at this time (some twenty-five examples), almost half of which are inspired by the coastal Monte Alto style. Architectural complexes consist of formal long rectangular plaza alignments with flanking low-lying platforms, and also mounds, which indicate the first mortuary architecture, if only on a modest scale. Some of the Providencia mounds are described as round, truncated, *conical* structures with frontal ramps, built on broad supporting platforms (Bebrich and Wynn 1973). In sum, the Providencia phase at Kaminaljuyu saw the establishment of the site layout, and foreshadowed the florescence of the immediately subsequent Verbena phase.

If the field workers are correct about round-based structures, they have made a more important observation than they realize. We all know that most eroded, unexcavated mounds in this area today appear to be "conical." However, the excavators describe prepared circular foundations to the mounds and offer the evidence in reconstruction drawings. Most of us have assumed that these early mounds were originally terraced "pyramids." If we accept the conical form of some Providencia mounds at Kaminaljuyu, beginning at 500 B.C., then the ramifications are enormously significant. Further, Sharer (1978, 1: 73) described an excavated conical mound at El Trapiche (Chalchuapa), El Salvador, dating to c. 600 B.C. And we are now told that the great mound at La Venta was in the form of a "fluted cone"—and that it may date as late as Phase IV, beginning about 600 B.C. (Heizer 1971: 51). The round mound at Cuicuilco in the Valley of Mexico is also now dated to at least 500 B.C. Can we thus propose that the La Venta mound is yet another manifestation of southern influence?

The early Terminal Preclassic period (200–1 B.C.), then, witnessed the peak development of Preclassic Kaminaljuyu—with the largest mounds (some of them twenty meters in height) and the

maximum site expansion to the limits of our map (Map 4). Further, one-third of the total known monumental sculptures at Kaminaljuyu are assigned to this Verbena phase. The pyramidal temple mounds are concentrated around courts or plazas, with close associations of the ceremonial mounds with residential platform precincts. The terraced, frontally-staired, Mound E-III-3 (Shook and Kidder 1952), the best described structure of this era, contained step-down, log-covered tombs with sumptuously supplied elite burials. Michels (1979b) characterizes this as a period of craft specialization, probably with long distance trade, a ranked social hierarchy, and possibly even the deification of a few rulers—an interpretation reinforced by depictions on contemporary stelae.

According to Sanders's investigators, by the end of the Arenal phase Kaminaljuyu enjoyed both substantial population growth and population stability. According to the present interpretation, the Arenal phase (A.D. 1–200), in addition, was nearing the end of an era when Terminal Preclassic Maya achievements in the south were rapidly shifting their focus to the Peten. Only about fifteen Kaminaljuyu sculptures are assigned to the Arenal subphase, though all of them are important to the analysis of early Maya developments. We have also suggested dynastic content to the art accompanied by inscriptions, as well as indications of conflict.

The Early Classic Aurora phase at Kaminaljuyu (A.D. 200–400) can only be viewed as a "holding pattern," and perhaps a decline, relative to the Terminal Preclassic florescence. There are fewer known new mound groups, the most notable being Mounds D-III-1 and D-III-13, with their relief-modeled terraced facades, but virtually no known stone sculptures. Other archaeological information in the Southern Maya area supports a tentative conclusion of diminished overall activity during this phase, much to the bafflement of field workers (Shook 1965: 184). However, Frederick Bove is currently working a coastal Guatemalan site that may fill this apparent gap (personal communication, 1984). Also, Ichon (1977) has an Early Classic phase at La Lagunita, El Quiche.

In this synopsis, the Middle Classic period deserves more detailed attention, in that the work of the Kaminaljuyu Project has greatly expanded our knowledge of events at the site since the pathbreaking report of Kidder, Jennings, and Shook (1946), which first documented Teotihuacan presence at Kaminaljuyu. During this Middle Classic phase, beginning about A.D. 400, we find even more compact concentrations of civic architecture and elite tombs in "foreign barrios" at Kaminaljuyu. By A.D. 600 the site had reached its maximum population, with over 20,000 people; at the same time there were many other substantial sites throughout the Valley of Guatemala.

Charles Cheek (1977) defines three phases of Mexican presence at Kaminaljuyu, from A.D. 400 to 700, on the basis of architectural sequence: the first is one of contact and "integration"; the middle phase is pure Teotihuacan (with *talud-tablero* terraces, balustraded staircases, and adobe-covered surfaces—all local imitations of the central Mexican site); and the last is the phase of Teotihuacan "withdrawal" (followed by a "Maya resurgence" in the eighth century). Other than the ball courts, already discussed, the greatest concentrations and best sequences of this foreign architecture were found in the confronting Mounds A and B at the southeastern corner of the site, with their succession of frontal platforms and underlying tombs, and the compact Acropolis and Palangana district just north of the lake.

The now destroyed Mounds A and B (or F-VI-1 and F-VI-2 in the Carnegie grid system for the site, which we employ in our Map 4) were located at the entrance to the Roosevelt Hospital in Guatemala City, just west of the main *Trebol* highway cloverleaf. The Acropolis and Palangana are now protected as a government archaeological zone ("Parque de Kaminaljuyu") in the western "Zone 7" of the modern city. Incidentally, the present Roosevelt (Pan American) highway cuts through the site diagonally, from the north edge of Mound B-IV-1 to just north of the former

Mounds A and B. North of this highway was the nineteenth century "Finca Arevalo" and to the south was the old "Finca Miraflores."

More accurately, *both* the Acropolis (the C-II-4 complex) and the Palangana (the C-II-12 to C-II-14 complex) are large Middle Classic acropolis-type constructions. The arbitrary name "palangana" was assigned to the latter long ago because the enclosed "basin" in the western half superficially resembled a large ball court, and unexcavated courts of this form are called *palanganas* in Guatemala. Although some resident archaeologists nicknamed this enormous enclosure Yankee Stadium, we now know for certain that in its present form it never served as a ball court. (However, we suggested in the discussion of Silhouetted Relief 2 [Fig. 164] that the ball game may have been played in this area in Terminal Preclassic times.) After Cheek's excavation there, and the discovery of a central residential-administrative compound (the "shrine-atrium," see Map 5), this basin was labeled the "Lower Plaza." The eastern half of this acropolis is considerably more elevated; it was only partially trenched by the Kaminaljuyu Project.

The named Acropolis (C-II-4) was extensively tunneled and excavated in the 1950s by Gustavo Espinosa, revealing an elaborate Esperanza-Amatle 1 temple-pyramid compound (with *talud-tablero* facades, etc.) surrounding a court in the lower levels of its southern sector. His unpublished excavations were architecturally reconstructed on paper by Proskouriakoff and Cheek. Both acropoleis revealed rudimentary Terminal Preclassic (Arenal) constructions and minor burials at their lowest levels. However, their intensive sequence of construction occurred during the Amatle 1 and 2 phases. In the final phase at C-II-4, the early Late Classic (Amatle 2) east-west oriented ball court "A" was built on an upper level, after filling in the earlier temple compound.

At the nearby Palangana, the Lower Plaza had been flanked on the east and west with embankments, and Mound C-II-12, by Arenal times. The massive phase of construction, however, was Esperanza-Amatle 1, when the eastern upper plaza (C-II-14) was raised to its full height, and an enclosed shrine-atrium compound, with *talud-tablero,* was constructed in the middle of the Lower Plaza just north of the center (Map 4). Uncovered in the latter structure were several burials or tombs of the period. Preclassic monuments were deposited *within* Tomb 1 (cf. Monument 63) and a group of mutilated monuments were later deposited *above,* in a north-south line (cf. Stelae 26, 25, and Altar 12), near the end of the Amatle 2 phase (see Cheek 1977: 65; and our detail drawing, Map 5). The early Late Classic Amatle 2 phase saw the complete enclosure of the Lower Plaza brought to its present height, as well as terminal surface overlays on the shrine-atrium compound.

As early Amatle 2 was also the time of Teotihuacan "withdrawal" from the area and the diminution of their religious and political control, it may have been that the local Maya people soon began to use the southern half of the Lower Plaza secondarily as a "monument plaza." Although the elite and esoteric Maya sculptural tradition that flourished here prior to A.D. 200 was never again resumed, it does appear that an "outdoor museum" of surviving Preclassic sculpture was established and maintained until the abandonment of the site at about A.D. 800. Interestingly, Tomb 1, containing Preclassic Monument 63 and an Esperanza-Teotihuacan burial, was robbed at the outset of the Late Classic (Cheek 1977: 169), thus supporting the thesis of a "Maya resurgence." The exposed row of potbelly sculptures (Monuments 3–5) that were still in situ at the south margin of the Lower Plaza in Maudslay's day, as well as the Post-Olmec Monument 2 then situated at the south end of the central "atrium," and Monument 62 found near the same spot by Cheek—all these cannot logically have been repositioned there in Postclassic times when the site was unoccupied, as he would have had us believe (Cheek 1977: 12). In a recent exchange of personal communication, Cheek now agrees with my interpretation that the "museum" of monuments was set up here by the

eighth century A.D. Even though some of them were associated with San Juan plumbate pottery, we know that this ceramic type was introduced on the coast by A.D. 700 (Parsons 1967b).

The same "Palangana situation" was observed at Bilbao on the coast, where potbelly Monument 58 was found reused in front of a staircase in a Late Classic "monument plaza" (Parsons 1969: 51). Who knows how much more Preclassic sculpture lies buried in and around the Palangana at Kaminaljuyu? The Kaminaljuyu Project archaeologists trenched only very limited areas. A total of at least fifteen Preclassic sculptures are already recorded for the Palangana acropolis itself.

An increased secularism in the Amatle 2 phase is perhaps suggested by the reduced number of temple compounds at Kaminaljuyu, as well as an increased dispersal of rural sites in the Valley of Guatemala. Although cult activities still accompany the Late Classic ball game complex, there appears to be a local Maya revival; old Maya monuments were again revered, but they were neither duplicated nor continued. Kaminaljuyu was abandoned by A.D. 800, at the latest. The succeeding Pamplona phase (characterized by San Juan plumbate pottery, although this ceramic was probably introduced by A.D. 700 during the intergrading Amatle 2-Pamplona subphases) postdates the abandonment of Kaminaljuyu. Even in the scattered Valley of Guatemala sites there was a definite population decline. For the non-Maya coastal Cotzumalhuapa sites, however, this period was marked by regional florescence.

During the Postclassic Ayampuc (Tohil plumbate pottery) and terminal Chinautla phases (A.D. 950–1550), other sites in the valley dominated; the few Postclassic potsherds found on the surface at Kaminaljuyu do not indicate any real occupation there. Elsewhere in the Guatemalan highlands we find the strongholds of the terminal Maya, at such hilltop sites as Utatlan, Mixco Viejo, and Iximche. Unlike these important conquest sites, ancient Kaminaljuyu was not noticed by the first European explorers. Even the keen observer John Lloyd Stephens (1841), who spent considerable time in Guatemala City and journeyed to the Pacific Coast as well as to Mixco and Antigua, did not notice or mention the 200-mound site of Kaminaljuyu.

Brief Summary and Conclusion

By way of a review of Kaminaljuyu and the more important Pacific Coast sites with monumental stone sculpture, this culture-historical summary delimits the duration of their sculptural sequences and indicates their distribution. The photographs and drawings, discussed in relative chronological sequence throughout Part One, provide a comparative visual overview of stylistic development and interrelationship. The tables and maps also synthesize our analysis.

The Kaminaljuyu sculpture tradition apparently began in the late Middle Preclassic Las Charcas phase by 700 B.C., and lasted a millennium to A.D. 700 and the Middle Classic period. The sculptural sequence at the site of Izapa begins by 500 B.C. and concludes by A.D. 100, but curiously has no Middle Classic Teotihuacanoid or Cotzumalhuapa sculpture. Other scattered sites on the coast have even earlier Late Olmec sculpture (900–700 B.C.). The sculptural sequence in the vicinity of Tonala, Chiapas, is particularly inclusive, beginning at 900 B.C. and lasting to the Cotzumalhuapa period, and may even include a few Postclassic monuments. Monumental sculpture production at Abaj Takalik spans an equally long period, commencing about 900 B.C., after the first classical Olmec period, and demonstrating continuous development to Classic Cotzumalhuapan times. Sculptures at Bilbao, Escuintla, appear by 500 B.C. at the outset of the Late Preclassic, and persist to the end of the Late Classic. Stone carving at Monte Alto is limited to the Late and Terminal Preclassic. For the complete distribution of sites with stone monuments in southeastern Mesoamerica during Olmec, Post-Olmec, and Izapan times, refer to Maps 1 through 3. (See Parsons 1969, endpaper, for the Classic period sites.) Site clustering and spacing in itself is informative for assessing cultural interactions and

geographical shifts in art style centers throughout the Preclassic.

General stylistic development in this area may also be summarized. Monumental stone sculpture first appears in Mesoamerica, in the non-Maya Gulf Coast Olmec region, by 1200 B.C. (Style Division I; "classical" or Early Olmec). The expansion into provincial regions of a Late Olmec Horizon style (Style Division II) dates from 900 to 700 B.C., and is reflected at several Pacific Coastal sites. A 700 to 500 B.C. transition period, contemporary with the La Venta IV phase at the end of the Middle Preclassic, is not only terminal Olmec, but witnesses newly coalescing Southern Maya art style infiltrations into the Gulf Coast of "Olmecoid" and "Danzante" character. From 500 to 200 B.C., at the beginning of the Late Preclassic, there is a dominance of Southern Maya Olmecoid and Monte Alto styles in the whole area of southeastern Mesoamerica ("Post-Olmec" Style Division III)—a prolific art style period not sufficiently appreciated as distinct from both the previous Olmec and subsequent Izapan manifestations.

Interestingly, the Middle Preclassic Late Olmec Horizon style, succeeded by an "Olmecoid" phenomenon, is structurally parallel to the sequent Teotihuacan horizon style and its "Teotihuacanoid" aftermath of the much later Middle Classic period (Parsons 1969; also see Pasztory 1978). Further, the eclectic, but innovative, Olmecoid styles are followed by a period of regional specialization in sculptural art comparable to Mesoamerica's Late Classic. However, this superficially cyclical historical pattern has not been analyzed here.

Style Division IV ("Izapan"), from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200, sees the florescence of the individually specialized Izapan, Arenal, and Miraflores sculptural substyles in the southern area, as well as the transfer of their demonstrable proto-Maya aspects to the Central Maya lowlands. This Terminal Preclassic period of developing complex, possibly dynastic, societies has been given special attention in this study. Also, Kaminaljuyu's discrete Arenal and Miraflores substyles were defined exhaustively for their particular bearing on the problem of coalescing Classic Maya art, in contrast to the more regional Izapa substyle that came to an end by A.D. 100. In a sense, the entire Late Preclassic (500 B.C.–A.D. 200) can be viewed as a gradually evolving Maya art style tradition in the south with, in addition, certain shorter-lived regional substyles along the way. This developmental pattern, therefore, is not by any means simplistically lineal, from Olmec to Olmecoid to Izapan to Maya. The "latticework" model serves better. Nevertheless, the cumulative continuity of details of iconography and subject matter from the Preclassic to the Classic is impressive, and in fact constitutes the principal theme of the textual descriptions.

The Early Classic (A.D. 200–400) Transition phase confirms the dominance of sculptural activity in the Lowland Maya area, with a not-fully-explained corresponding hiatus in sculptural production at Kaminaljuyu and most of the Southern Maya area. However, we have noted incipient troubled times in the south during the prior Protoclassic, with evidence of conflicting dynasties. Style Division V (A.D. 400–700 at Kaminaljuyu) is the "Early Mexican," Middle Classic, Teotihuacan intrusion phase, along with the appearance of the eclectic and archaistic Cotzumalhuapa style in the south. This also has been outlined in the text. One of the intriguing problems at this time is the nature of Mexican-Maya syncretism at Kaminaljuyu and, indeed, the "port-of-trade" hypothesis itself.

The present study has been primarily descriptive and historical, since this large body of material is being brought together for the first time, save for the preliminary condensed synthesis by Miles (1965). Interpretations of meaning and social process, as well as theories of causality and explanation, have been kept to a minimum despite the importance of these considerations for our ultimate understanding of the development and interrelationships of the various Mesoamerican civilizations. The sculpture styles themselves, however, have dictated certain directions and both specific and general conclusions, supported, of course, by available archaeological information. The text has

attempted to suggest certain relationships of this material to the broader aspects of anthropology and art history so that others may reassess or expand the data from special points of view. In this context too, questions that at present cannot be answered are raised, in order to underline subjects requiring further investigation. However, other researchers will have to take into consideration this body of data when attempting larger syntheses based upon theoretical constructions beyond the intended scope of my present study.

Despite the seeming diversity and complexity of the monumental arts from Olmec times to Teotihuacan times—a span of twenty centuries—tangible patterns can be discerned when all extant material, in its most probable historical sequence, is taken into account. Future archaeological discoveries will enrich and supplement what we already have on record, but the fundamental controversies over the proper placement of substyles and the courses of development should subside (even though any scholar could isolate a particular stone sculpture—especially, as too frequently occurs, an object lacking archaeological context—and argue for somewhat earlier or later placement). Previous "piecemeal" analyses, however refined or detailed, were insufficient to document significant variation in time and space, or to explore their implications.

The derivation of Classic Maya monumental art no longer can be in question, though the social structural and human intellectual processes involved need considerably more elucidation. This study has focused primarily upon objects and times and distributions; if the approach is "old time" anthropology, it has nevertheless been curiously neglected in the last generation of scholarship, even when certain classes of data still dictate such fundamental approaches. Nor have questions of the comparative political economies of the cultures, which produced the works described and analyzed, been addressed here, although these issues are increasingly current in anthropology. However, this study, which does emphasize art style analysis and a consistent systematic seriation of the stone sculpture, should be useful for any forthcoming integrated reconstructions of southeastern Mesoamerican history. Too little attention has been paid to the art styles that immortalize and communicate much of the content of these cultures—a caution directed to the "new archaeologists." The essential "uniqueness" of individual works of art, further, does not lend itself to statistical treatment. I have attempted to use techniques developed by art historians for the analysis of style, while at the same time directing my conclusions to the culture-historical problems peculiar to Mesoamerica. My strategy is based on the premise that no questions—historical or evolutionary—can be addressed in any significant way without facts, without basic descriptive data.

Although I have reconstructed a history of Kaminaljuyu, the Southern Pacific Coast, and adjacent regions from the perspective of the extant monumental arts, this whole region is still relatively unknown and unexcavated in comparison with the intensive work carried out in Central Mexico and the Central Maya area. The Pacific Coast, along with the equally poorly explored Gulf Coast, is a key connecting link between the greater Mexican highlands and the Maya lowlands via which both cultural and stylistic relationships were maintained, and where provocative and influential local art styles emerged. Preliminary research there has already permitted the definition of a discrete Peripheral Coastal lowland region, the Post-Olmec epoch, an integrated Middle Classic horizon, and, most important, the stylistic origins of Classic Maya art. The intent has been to demonstrate the succession and dynamics of the art styles expressed on the monumental stone sculptures, which complement the basic archaeological and demographic surveys already accomplished.

Of the peoples and cultures who generated these styles we as yet know too little, even when such knowledge is a primary goal of anthropological archaeology. Nonetheless, this synthesis constitutes an important step toward this end; it has systematically assembled a diverse catalogue of data directly relevant to a complete study of ancient history and ethos in southeastern Mesoamerica.

Bibliography

AGRINIER, PIERRE

1960 *The Carved Human Femurs from Tomb I, Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas, Mexico.* Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 6. Orinda, California.

ANDREWS, E. WYLLYS, V

1976 *The Archaeology of Quelepa, El Salvador.* Middle American Research Institute, Publication 42. Tulane University, New Orleans.

BAUDEZ, CLAUDE, and PIERRE BECQUELIM

1973 *Archéologie de Los Naranjos, Honduras.* Mission Archéologique et Ethnologique Française au Mexique, Mexico.

BEBRICH, CARL A., and JACK T. WYNN

1973 Mound B-V-6: A Late Formative Ceremonial Structure. In *The Pennsylvania State University Kaminaljuyu Project; 1969, 1970 Seasons. Part I; Mound Excavations* (Joseph W. Michels and William T. Sanders, eds.): 67–158. Occasional Papers in Anthropology 9. The Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

BERLIN, HEINRICH

1952 Excavaciones en Kaminaljuyu: Monticulo D-III-13. *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala* 4 (1): 3–18. Instituto de Antropología e Historia, Guatemala.

BERLO, JANET C.

n.d. Teotihuacan Art Abroad: A Study of Metropolitan Style and Provincial Transformations in Incensario Workshops. PhD dissertation, Department of the History of Art, Yale University, 1980.

BERNAL, IGNACIO

1968 The Ball Players of Dainzu. *Archaeology* 21 (4): 246–251.

1969 *The Olmec World.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

BLOM, FRANS, and OLIVER LA FARGE

1926–27 *Tribes and Temples: A Record of the Expedition to Middle America Conducted by the Tulane University of Louisiana in 1925.* 2 vols. Middle American Research Series, Publication 1. Tulane University, New Orleans.

BOGGS, STANLEY H.

1950 "Olmec" Pictographs in the Las Victorias Group, Chalchuapa Archaeological Zone, El Salvador. *Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology* 4 (99): 85–92. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Division of Historical Research, Cambridge.

BORHEGYI, STEPHAN F. DE

1951 A Study of Three-pronged Incense Burners from Guatemala and Adjacent Areas. *Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology* 4 (101): 100–124. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Division of Historical Research, Cambridge.

1956 El incensario de "tres asas" de Kaminaljuyu. *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala* 8 (2): 3–7. Instituto de Antropología e Historia, Guatemala.

1959 Underwater Archaeology in the Maya Highlands. *Scientific American* 200 (3): 100–113.

1961 Miniature Mushroom Stones from Guatemala. *American Antiquity* 26: 498–504.

1965 Archaeological Synthesis of the Guatemalan Highlands. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robert Wauchope and Gordon R. Willey, eds.) 2: 3–58. University of Texas Press, Austin.

1966 Shell Offerings and the Use of Shell Motifs at Lake Amatitlan, Guatemala, and Teotihuacan, Mexico. *Actas del XXXVI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Sevilla, 1964* 1: 355–371. Seville.

BOVE, FREDERICK J.

n.d. The Evolution of Chiefdoms and States on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala: A Spatial Analysis. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1981.

BROWN, KENNETH L.

1973 The B-III-5 Mound Group: Early and Middle Classic Civic Architecture. In *The Pennsylvania State University Kaminaljuyu Project: 1969, 1970 Seasons. Part I: Mound Excavations* (Joseph W. Michels and William T. Sanders, eds.): 391–463. Occasional Papers in Anthropology 9. The Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

1977 The Valley of Guatemala: A Highland Port of Trade. In *Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu: A Study in Prehistoric Culture Contact* (William T. Sanders and Joseph W. Michels, eds.): 205–396. The Pennsylvania State University Press Monograph Series on Kaminaljuyu, University Park.

CERVANTES, MARIA ANTONIETA

1976 La estela de Alvarado. *Actas del XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, México, 1974* 2: 309–322. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.

CHEEK, CHARLES D.

1977 Excavations at the Palangana and the Acropolis, Kaminaljuyu. In *Teotihuacan and Kaminal-*

juyu: A Study in Prehistoric Culture Contact (William T. Sanders and Joseph W. Michels, eds.): 1–204. The Pennsylvania State University Press Monograph Series on Kaminaljuyu, University Park.

CLEWLOW, C. WILLIAM, JR.
1974 *A Stylistic and Chronological Study of Olmec Monumental Sculpture.* Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 19. Berkeley.

COE, MICHAEL D.
1957 Cycle 7 Monuments in Middle America: A Reconsideration. *American Anthropologist* 59: 597–611.
1962 *Mexico.* Frederick A. Praeger, New York.
1965 *The Jaguar's Children: Pre-Classic Central Mexico.* The Museum of Primitive Art, New York.
1966 *An Early Stone Pectoral from Southeastern Mexico.* Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 1. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
1973 *The Maya Scribe and His World.* The Grolier Club, New York.
1976 Early Steps in the Evolution of Maya Writing. In *Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (H. B. Nicholson, ed.): 107–122. University of California at Los Angeles Latin American Center Publications, Los Angeles.

COE, MICHAEL D., and RICHARD A. DIEHL
1980 *In the Land of the Olmec.* 2 vols. University of Texas Press, Austin.

COE, WILLIAM R.
1962 A Summary of Excavation and Research at Tikal, Guatemala: 1956–61. *American Antiquity* 27: 479–507.
1965a Tikal: Ten Years of Study of a Maya Ruin in the Lowlands of Guatemala. *Expedition* 8 (1). Bulletin of the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
1965b Tikal, Guatemala, and Emergent Maya Civilization. *Science* 147: 1401–1419.

COGGINS, CLEMENCY
1979 A New Order and the Role of the Calendar: Some Characteristics of the Middle Classic Period at Tikal. In *Maya Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Norman Hammond and Gordon Willey, eds.): 38–50. University of Texas Press, Austin.

COOK DE LEONARD, CARMEN
1967 Sculptures and Rock Carvings at Chalcatzingo, Morelos. *Studies in Olmec Archaeology*: 57–84. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 3. Berkeley.

COVARRUBIAS, MIGUEL
1957 *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America.* Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

DEMAREST, ARTHUR A.
1976 A Re-evaluation of the Archaeological Sequences of Preclassic Chiapas. *Studies in Middle American Anthropology*: 75–107. Middle American Research Institute, Publication 22. Tulane University, New Orleans.
n.d. Santa Leticia and the Development of Complex Society in Southeastern Mesoamerica. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, 1981.

DEMAREST, ARTHUR, ROY SWITSUR, and RAINER BURGER
1982 The Dating and Cultural Associations of the "Potbellied" Sculptural Style: New Evidence from Western El Salvador. *American Antiquity* 42: 557–571.

DRUCKER, PHILIP
1952 *La Venta, Tabasco: A Study of Olmec Ceramics and Art.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 153. Washington.
1968 The El Meson Monument at Angel R. Cabada, Veracruz. *Papers on Mesoamerican Archaeology*: 41–57. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 5. Berkeley.

DRUCKER, PHILIP, ROBERT F. HEIZER, and ROBERT J. SQUIER
1959 *Excavations at La Venta, Tabasco, 1955.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 170. Washington.

DUTTON, B. P., and H. R. HOBBS
1943 *Excavations at Tajumulco, Guatemala.* Monographs of the School of American Research 9. Santa Fe.

EASBY, ELIZABETH K., and JOHN F. SCOTT
1970 *Before Cortes: Sculpture of Middle America.* The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

EKHOLM, SUSANNA M.
1969 *Mound 30a and the Early Preclassic Ceramic Sequence of Izapa, Chiapas, Mexico.* Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 25. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
1973 *The Olmec Rock Carving at Xoc, Chiapas, Mexico.* Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 32. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

EMMERICH, ANDRÉ
1963 *Art before Columbus: The Art of Ancient Mexico.* Simon and Schuster, New York.

ESPINOSA, GUSTAVO
1960 Newspaper article. *El Imparcial* 12797, November 24. Guatemala City.

FERDON, EDWIN N., JR.
1953 *Tonala, Mexico: An Archaeological Survey.* Monographs of the School of American Research 16. Santa Fe.

FIDIAS JIMÉNEZ, TOMÁS
1957 El monolito de Cayaguanca. *Anales del Museo*

Nacional "David J. Guzman" 7: 11–17. San Salvador.

FLANNERY, KENT V.
1968 The Olmec and the Valley of Oaxaca: A Model for Inter-Regional Interaction in Formative Times. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.): 79–117. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

FREIDEL, DAVID A.
1979 Culture Areas and Interaction Spheres: Contrasting Approaches to the Emergence of Civilization in the Maya Lowlands. *American Antiquity* 44: 36–54.

FUENTE, BEATRIZ DE LA
1973 *Escultura monumental Olmeca: Catalogo*. Cuadernos de Historia del Arte 1. Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico.

FURST, PETER T.
1972 Symbolism and Psychopharmacology: The Toad as Earth Mother in Indian America. *Religion en Mesoamerica*. XII Mesa Redonda: 37–46. Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Mexico.
1981 Jaguar Baby or Toad Mother: A New Look at an Old Problem in Olmec Iconography. In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling* (Michael D. Coe and David Grove, organizers, Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.): 149–162. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

GAY, CARLO T. E.
1972 *Chalcacingo*. International Scholarly Book Service, Portland.

GIRARD, RAFAEL
1966 *Los Mayas: Su civilizacion, su historia, sus vinculaciones continentales*. Libro Mex. Editores, Mexico.
1969 *La misteriosa cultura Olmeca: Ultimos descubrimientos de esculturas pre-Olmecas en Guatemala*. 3rd ed. Guatemala.

GRAHAM, JOHN A.
1977 Discoveries at Abaj Takalik, Guatemala. *Archaeology* 30 (3): 196–197.
1979 Maya, Olmecs, and Izapans at Abaj Takalik. *Actes du XLII Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1976* 8: 179–188. Paris.
1981 Abaj Takalik: The Olmec Style and Its Antecedents in Pacific Guatemala. In *Los Olmecas, the Parent Civilization of Mesoamerica*. (Exhibit catalogue.) University Gallery, University of Florida, Gainesville.

GRAHAM, JOHN A., and ROBERT F. HEIZER
1968 Notes on the Papalhuapa Site, Guatemala. In *Papers on Mesoamerican Archaeology*: 101–125. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 5. Berkeley.

GRAHAM, JOHN A., ROBERT F. HEIZER, and EDWIN M. SHOOK
1978 Abaj Takalik 1976: Exploratory Investigations. In *Papers on Mesoamerican Archaeology*: 85–110. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 36. Berkeley.

GROVE, DAVID C.
1968 Chalcatzingo, Morelos, Mexico: A Reappraisal of the Olmec Rock Carvings. *American Antiquity* 33: 486–491.
1970 *The Olmec Paintings of Oxtotitlan Cave, Guerrero, Mexico*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 6. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
1974 The Highland Olmec Manifestation: A Consideration of What It Is and Isn't. In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches* (Norman Hammond, ed.): 109–128. University of Texas Press, Austin.

GROVE, DAVID C., and LOUISE L. PARADIS
1971 An Olmec Stela from San Miguel Amuco, Guerrero. *American Antiquity* 36: 95–102.

HABEL, S.
1878 *The Sculptures of Santa Lucia Cosumalwhuapa in Guatemala, with an Account of Travels in Central America and on the Western Coast of South America*. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 269. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

HAMMOND, NORMAN
1982 A Late Formative Period Stela in the Maya Lowlands. *American Antiquity* 47: 396–403.

HATCH, MARION POPENOE
n.d. A Seriation of the Monte Alto Sculptures. Paper presented at annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, San Diego, 1981.

HEIZER, ROBERT F.
1971 Commentary on: The Olmec Region—Oaxaca. In *Observations on the Emergence of Civilization in Mesoamerica* (Robert F. Heizer, John A. Graham, and C. W. Clewlow, Jr., eds.): 51–69. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 11. Berkeley.

HEIZER, ROBERT F., JOHN A. GRAHAM, and LEWIS K. NAPTON
1968 The 1968 Investigations at La Venta. In *Papers on Mesoamerican Archaeology*: 127–154. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 5. Berkeley.

HEIZER, ROBERT F., JOHN A. GRAHAM, and C. W. CLEWLOW, JR. (EDS.)
1971 *Observations on the Emergence of Civilization in Mesoamerica*. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 11. Berkeley.

HELLMUTH, NICHOLAS M.
1975 *The Escuintla Hoards: Teotihuacan Art in Guatemala*. Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research Progress Reports 1 (2). Guatemala, St. Louis, and Los Angeles.
1978 Teotihuacan Art in the Escuintla, Guatemala Region. In *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700* (Esther Pasztory, ed.): 71–85. Columbia University Press, New York.

ICHON, ALAIN
1977 *Les sculptures de La Lagunita, El Quiche, Guatemala*. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Institut D'Ethnologie, Paris.

ICHON, ALAIN, and JACQUES CASSIER
1975 Découvertes récentes à Bilbao, Escuintla (Guatemala). *Bulletin de la Société Suisse des Américanistes* 39: 13–25. Paris.

JORALEMON, PETER DAVID
1971 *A Study of Olmec Iconography*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 7. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
1976 The Olmec Dragon: A Study in Pre-Columbian Iconography. In *Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (H. B. Nicholson, ed.): 27–71. University of California at Los Angeles Latin American Center Publications, Los Angeles.

JUSTESON, JOHN S., and PETER MATHEWS
1983 The Seating of the *Tun:* Further Evidence Concerning a Late Preclassic Lowland Maya Stela Cult. *American Antiquity* 48: 586–593.

KIDDER, A. V., J. D. JENNINGS, and E. M. SHOOK
1946 *Excavations at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 561. Washington.

KIDDER, ALFRED V., and CARLOS SAMAYOA CHINCHILLA
1959 *The Art of the Ancient Maya*. Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.

KIRSCH, RICHARD W.
1973 Annotated Bibliography for Kaminaljuyu and the Valley of Guatemala. In *The Pennsylvania State University Kaminaljuyu Project: 1969, 1970 Seasons. Part I: Mound Excavations* (Joseph W. Michels and William T. Sanders, eds.): 483–531. Occasional Papers in Anthropology 9. The Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

LEE, THOMAS A., JR.
1967 Figurillas antropomorfas de Chiapa de Corzo. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 6: 199–214. Seminario de Cultura Maya, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico.
1969 *The Artifacts of Chiapa de Corzo, Chiapas, Mexico*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 26. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

LEE, THOMAS A., JR., and CARLOS NAVARRETE (EDS.)
1978 *Mesoamerican Communication Routes and Cultural Contacts*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 40. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

LEHMANN, HENRI
1968 *Arts Mayas du Guatemala*. (Exhibit catalogue.) Grand Palais, Paris.

LOTHROP, SAMUEL K.
1926 Stone Sculptures from the Finca Arevalo, Guatemala. *Indian Notes* 3: 147–171. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.
1933 *Atitlan. An Archaeological Study of Ancient Remains on the Borders of Lake Atitlan, Guatemala*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 444. Washington.

LOWE, GARETH W.
1965 Desarrollo y funcion del incensario en Izapa. *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 5: 53–64. Seminario de Cultura Maya, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico.

LOWE, GARETH W., THOMAS A. LEE, JR., and EDUARDO MARTÍNEZ ESPINOSA
1982 *Izapa: An Introduction to the Ruins and Monuments*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 31. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

MALMSTROM, VINCENT H.
1973 Origin of the Mesoamerican 260-Day Calendar. *Science* 181: 939–940.

MAUDSLAY, ALFRED P.
1889–1902 *Biologia Centrali-Americana: Archaeology*. 5 vols. R. H. Porter and Dulau & Co., London.

MCDONALD, ANDREW J.
1977 Two Middle Preclassic Engraved Monuments at Tzutzuculi on the Chiapas Coast of Mexico. *American Antiquity* 42: 560–566.

MEDELLIN ZENIL, ALFONSO
1960a *Cerámicas del Totonacapan: Exploraciones arqueológicas en el centro de Veracruz*. Universidad Veracruzana, Instituto de Antropología, Xalapa.
1960b Monolitos inéditos Olmecas. *La Palabra y el Hombre* 16: 75–97. Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa.

MICHELS, JOSEPH W. (ED.)
1979a *Settlement Pattern Excavations at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala*. The Pennsylvania State University Press Monograph Series on Kaminaljuyu. University Park.
1979b *The Kaminaljuyu Chiefdom*. The Pennsylvania State University Press Monograph Series on Kaminaljuyu. University Park.

MICHELS, JOSEPH W., and WILLIAM T. SANDERS (EDS.)
1973 *The Pennsylvania State University Kaminaljuyu Project: 1969, 1970 Seasons. Part I: Mound Excavations*. Occasional Papers in Anthropology 9. The Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

MILBRATH, SUSAN
1979 *A Study of Olmec Sculptural Chronology*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 23. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
MILES, SUZANNE W.
1963 Informe sobre Kaminaljuyu. *Antropología e Historia de Guatemala* 15 (2): 35–38. Instituto de Antropología e Historia, Guatemala.
1965 Sculpture of the Guatemala-Chiapas Highlands and Pacific Slopes, and Associated Hieroglyphs. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robert Wauchope and Gordon R. Willey, eds.) 2: 237–275. University of Texas Press, Austin.
MUSEUM OF PRIMITIVE ART
1974 *Primitive Art Masterworks*. (Exhibit catalogue.) The American Federation of Arts, New York.
NAVARRETE, CARLOS
1959 *A Brief Reconnaissance in the Region of Tonala, Chiapas, Mexico*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 4. Orinda, California.
1960 *Archaeological Explorations in the Region of Frailesca, Chiapas, Mexico*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 7. Orinda, California.
1967 Notas de la arqueología Chiapaneca. *Instituto de Ciencias y Artes de Chiapas* 18: 7–19. Tuxtla Gutierrez.
1972 Fechamiento para un tipo de esculturas del sur de Mesoamérica. *Anales de Antropología* 9: 45–52. Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico.
1974 *The Olmec Rock Carvings at Pijijiapan Chiapas, Mexico, and Other Olmec Pieces from Chiapas and Guatemala*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 35. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
NORMAN, V. GARTH
1973 *Izapa Sculpture. Part I: Album*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 30. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
1976 *Izapa Sculpture. Part II: Text*. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 30. Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
PADDOCK, JOHN
1966 Oaxaca in Ancient Mesoamerica. In *Ancient Oaxaca: Discoveries in Mexican Archeology and History* (John Paddock, ed.): 87–242. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
PARSONS, LEE A.
1967a An Early Maya Stela on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala. *Estudios de cultura Maya* 6: 171–198. Seminario de Cultura Maya, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico.
1967b *Bilbao, Guatemala: An Archaeological Study of the Pacific Coast Cotzumalhuapa Region, vol. 1*. Publications in Anthropology 11. Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
1969 *Bilbao, Guatemala: An Archaeological Study of the Pacific Coast Cotzumalhuapa Region, vol. 2*. Publications in Anthropology 12. Milwaukee Public Museum, Milwaukee.
1973 Iconographic Notes on a New Izapan Stela from Abaj Takalik, Guatemala. *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma-Genova, 1972* 1: 203–212. Casa Editrice Tilgher, Genova.
1975 A Pseudo Pre-Columbian Colossal Stone Head on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala. *Actas del XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, México, 1974* 1: 519–521. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
1976 Excavation of Monte Alto, Escuintla, Guatemala. *National Geographic Society Research Reports; 1968 Projects:* 325–332. Washington.
1978 The Peripheral Coastal Lowlands and the Middle Classic Period. In *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700* (Esther Pasztory, ed.): 25–34. Columbia University Press, New York.
1980 *Pre-Columbian Art: The Morton D. May and The Saint Louis Art Museum Collections*. Harper and Row, New York.
1981 Post-Olmec Stone Sculpture: The Olmec-Izapan Transition on the Southern Pacific Coast and Highlands. In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling* (Michael D. Coe and David Grove, organizers, Elizabeth P. Benson, ed): 257–288. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
1983 Altars 9 and 10, Kaminaljuyu, and the Evolution of the Serpent-Winged Deity. In *Civilization in the Ancient Americas. Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey* (Richard Leventhal and Alan Kolata, eds.): 145–156. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
n.d. The Middle American Co-Tradition. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, 1964.
PARSONS, LEE A., and PETER S. JENSON
1965 Boulder Sculpture on the Pacific Coast of Guatemala. *Archaeology* 18 (2): 132–144.
PARSONS, LEE A., and BARBARA J. PRICE
1971 Mesoamerican Trade and Its Role in the Emergence of Civilization. In *Observations on the Emergence of Civilization in Mesoamerica* (Robert F. Heizer, John A. Graham, and C. W. Clewlow, Jr., eds.): 169–195. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 11. Berkeley.
PASZTORY, ESTHER (ED.)
1978 *Middle Classic Mesoamerica: A.D. 400–700*. Columbia University Press, New York.

POHORILENKO, ANATOLE
1981 The Olmec Style and Costa Rican Archaeology. In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling* (Michael D. Coe and David Grove, organizers, Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.): 309–327. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

PRICE, BARBARA J.
1977 Shifts in Production and Organization: A Cluster-Interaction Model. *Current Anthropology* 18: 209–233.

PROSKOURIAKOFF, TATIANA
1950 *A Study of Classic Maya Sculpture*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 593. Washington.
1968 Olmec and Maya Art: Problems of Their Stylistic Relation. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.): 119–134. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
1971 Early Architecture and Sculpture in Mesoamerica. In *Observations on the Emergence of Civilization in Mesoamerica* (Robert F. Heizer, John A. Graham, and C. W. Clewlow, Jr., eds.): 141–156. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 11. Berkeley.
1974 *Jades from the Cenote of Sacrifice, Chichen Itza, Yucatan*. Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 10 (1). Harvard University, Cambridge.

QUIRARTE, JACINTO
1973 *Izapan-Style Art: A Study of Its Form and Meaning*. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 10. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
1974 Terrestrial/Celestial Polymorphs as Narrative Frames in the Art of Izapa and Palenque. In *Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque: Part I* (Merle Greene Robertson, ed.): 129–135. The Robert Louis Stevenson School, Pebble Beach, California.
1976a Izapan Style Antecedents for the Maya Serpent in Celestial Dragon and Serpent Bar Contexts. *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte: España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico, Granada, 1973* 1: 227–237. Universidad de Granada, Granada.
1976b The Relationship of Izapan-Style Art to Olmec and Maya Art: A Review. In *Origins of Religious Art and Iconography in Preclassic Mesoamerica* (H. B. Nicholson, ed.): 73–86. University of California at Los Angeles Latin American Center Publications, Los Angeles.
1977 Early Art Styles of Mesoamerica and Early Classic Maya Art. In *The Origins of Maya Civilization* (Richard E. W. Adams, ed.): 249–283. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
1981 Tricephalic Units in Olmec, Izapan-Style, and Maya Art. In *The Olmec and Their Neighbors: Essays in Memory of Matthew W. Stirling* (Michael D. Coe and David Grove, organizers, Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.): 289–308. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

RICHARDSON, FRANCIS B.
1940 Non-Maya Monumental Sculpture of Central America. In *The Maya and Their Neighbors* (C. L. Hay et al., eds.): 395–416. Appleton-Century, New York.

RICKETSON, OLIVER G., and EDITH B. RICKETSON
1937 *Uaxactun, Guatemala, Group E, 1926–31*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 477. Washington.

RITZENTHALER, ROBERT E.
1967 Recent Monument Worship in Lowland Guatemala. *Middle American Research Records* 3: 107–116. Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, New Orleans.

ROBICSEK, FRANCIS
1970 *Copan: Home of the Mayan Gods*. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

ROSE, RICHARD M.
n.d. Mushroom Stones of Mesoamerica. PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University, 1977.

SANDERS, WILLIAM T., and JOSEPH W. MICHELS (EDS.)
1969 *The Pennsylvania State University Kaminaljuyu Project: 1968 Season. Part I: The Excavations*. Occasional Papers in Anthropology 2. The Pennsylvania State University, University Park.
1977 *Teotihuacan and Kaminaljuyu: A Study in Prehistoric Culture Contact*. The Pennsylvania State University Press Monograph Series on Kaminaljuyu, University Park.

SCOTT, JOHN F.
1976 Post-Olmec Mesoamerica as Revealed in Its Art. *Actas del XLI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, México, 1974* 1: 380–386. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
1977 El Meson, Veracruz, and Its Monolithic Reliefs. *Baessler-Archiv; Beitrage zur Volkerkunde*, N.F., 25 (1): 83–138. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.
1978 *The Danzantes of Monte Alban*. 2 vols. Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 19. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

SEDAT, DAVID, and ROBERT SHARER
1972 Archaeological Investigations in the Northern Maya Highlands: New Data on the Maya Preclassic. In *Papers on Mesoamerican Archaeology*: 23–35. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 16. Berkeley.

SHARER, ROBERT J. (ED.)
1978 *The Prehistory of Chalchuapa, El Salvador.* 3 vols. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

SHARER, ROBERT, and DAVID SEDAT
1973 Monument 1, El Porton, Guatemala, and the Development of Maya Calendrical Writing Systems. In *Papers on Mesoamerican Archaeology*: 177–194. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 18. Berkeley.

SHEETS, PAYSON D.
1979 Environmental and Cultural Effects of the Ilopango Eruption in Central America. In *Volcanic Activity and Human Ecology* (Payson D. Sheets and Donald K. Grayson, eds.): 525–564. Academic Press, New York.

SHOOK, EDWIN M.
1950 Tiquisate UFers Scoop Archaeological World, Find Ruined City on Farm. *Unifruitco,* August: 62–63. United Fruit Company, New York.
1951 Guatemala. *Carnegie Institution of Washington, Year Book 50:* 240–241. Washington.
1965 Archaeological Survey of the Pacific Coast of Guatemala. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robert Wauchope and Gordon R. Willey, eds.) 2: 180–194. University of Texas Press, Austin.
1971 Inventory of Some Pre-Classic Traits in the Highlands and Pacific Guatemala and Adjacent Areas. In *Observations on the Emergence of Civilization in Mesoamerica* (Robert F. Heizer, John A. Graham, and C. W. Clewlow, Jr., eds.): 70–77. Contributions of the University of California Archaeological Research Facility 11. Berkeley.

SHOOK, EDWIN M., and MARION P. HATCH
1978 The Ruins of El Balsamo, Department of Escuintla, Guatemala. *Journal of New World Archaeology* 3 (1): 1–38. Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

SHOOK, EDWIN M., and ROBERT F. HEIZER
1976 An Olmec Sculpture from the South (Pacific) Coast of Guatemala. *Journal of New World Archaeology* 1 (3): 1–8. Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

SHOOK, EDWIN M., and ALFRED V. KIDDER
1952 *Mound E-III-3, Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala.* Contributions to American Anthropology and History 53, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 596. Washington.

SMITH, VIRGINIA G.
1984 *Izapa Relief Carving: Form, Content, Rules for Design, and Role in Mesoamerican Art History and Archaeology.* Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology 27. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

STEPHENS, JOHN LLOYD
1841 *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan,* 2 vols. Harper and Brothers, New York.

STIPP, J. J., K. L. ELDRIDGE, and R. CADWELL
1976 University of Miami Radiocarbon Dates VI (Monte Alto series). *Radiocarbon* 18 (2): 213.

STIRLING, MATTHEW W.
1943 *Stone Monuments of Southern Mexico.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 138. Washington.
1957 *An Archaeological Reconnaissance in Southeastern Mexico.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 164. Anthropological Papers 53: 213–240. Washington.

STONE, DORIS
1972 *Pre-Columbian Man Finds Central America: The Archaeological Bridge.* Peabody Museum Press, Harvard University, Cambridge.

STROESSNER, ROBERT J.
n.d. Free Standing Portable Sculpture Related to Teotihuacan during the Early Classic Period. Manuscript, The Denver Art Museum, 1973.

STROMSVIK, GUSTAV
1942 *Substela Caches and Stela Foundations at Copan and Quirigua.* Contributions to American Anthropology and History 37, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication 528. Washington.

STRONG, W. D., A. V. KIDDER II, and A. J. D. PAUL, JR.
1938 *Preliminary Report on the Smithsonian Institution-Harvard University Archaeological Expedition to Northwestern Honduras.* Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 97 (1). Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

STUART, GEORGE E., and GENE S. STUART
1969 *Discovering Man's Past in the Americas.* National Geographic Society, Washington.

TERMER, FRANZ
1942 Auf den Spuren ratselhafter Völker in Sudguatemala. *Die Umschau,* Jahrgang 46, Heft 26: 389–392. Frankfurt.
1948 Récit d'un voyage archéologique dans le sud-est de la république de Guatemala. *Actes du XXVIII Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris, 1947*: 514–528. Paris.
1963 Neue archäologische Forschungsergebnisse in Sudguatemala. *Die Umschau,* Heft 14: 439–442. Frankfurt.
1973 *Palo Gordo: ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des pazifischen Guatemala.* Monographien zur Völkerkunde, herausgegeben vom Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde 8. Kommissionsverlag Klaus Renner, Munich.

THOMPSON, J. ERIC S.
1943 Some Sculptures from Southeastern Quezaltenango, Guatemala. *Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology* 1 (17): 100–112.

Carnegie Institution of Washington, Division of Historical Research, Cambridge.

VILLACORTA, CARLOS A.
1927 Vestigios de un edificio arcaico. *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala* 4 (1): 51–64. Guatemala.
1932 Nuevas piezas que enriquecen el Salón Arqueológico del Museo Nacional. *Anales de la Sociedad de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala* 9 (1): 110–120. Guatemala.

VILLACORTA, C. J. ANTONIO, and CARLOS A. VILLACORTA
1927 *Arqueología Guatemalteca*. Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala.

WAUCHOPE, ROBERT (ED.)
1964–76 *Handbook of Middle American Indians*. 16 vols. University of Texas Press, Austin.

WEAVER, MURIEL PORTER
1981 *The Aztecs, Maya, and Their Predecessors: Archaeology of Mesoamerica*. 2nd ed. Academic Press, New York.

WETHERINGTON, RONALD K. (ED.)
1978 *The Ceramics of Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala*. The Pennsylvania State University Press Monograph Series on Kaminaljuyu, University Park.

WILLEY, GORDON R. (ED.)
1974 *Das Alte Amerika*. Propylaen Künstgeschichte 18. Propylaen Verlag, Berlin.

WILLIAMSON, GEORGE
1877 Antiquities in Guatemala. *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution . . . for the Year 1876*: 418–421. Washington.

TABLE 1. SCULPTURAL DIVISIONS AND CHRONOLOGY; SOUTHERN PACIFIC COAST AND HIGHLANDS

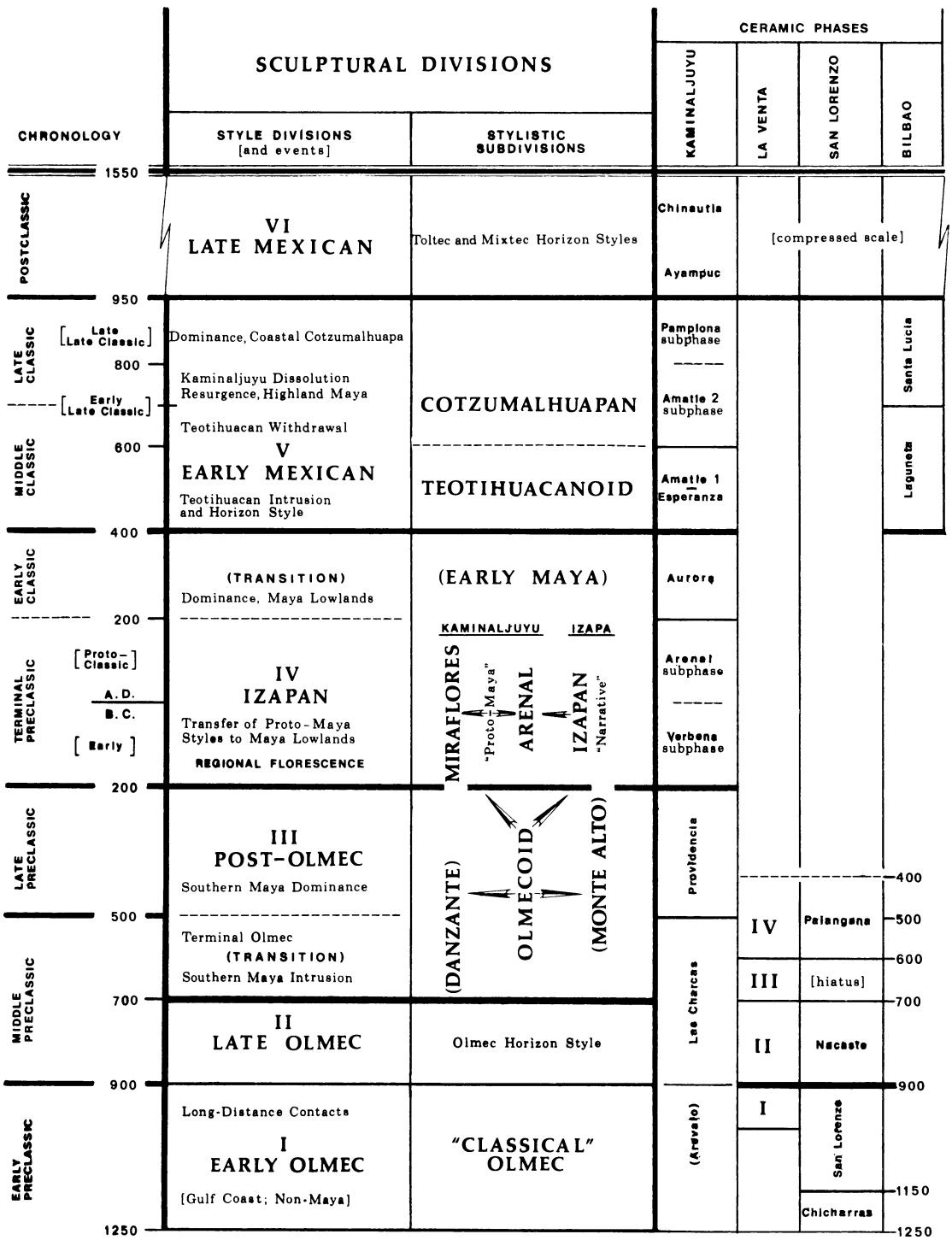


TABLE 2. PROFILE OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AT KAMINALJUYU

CERAMIC PHASES *(see Table 1)*	*(Note: best read from bottom to top)*
1550	
Chinautla	
Ayampuc	Postclassic sites elsewhere in Valley of Guatemala
950	
Pamplona subphase	scattered rural sites (with ball courts) in Valley of Guatemala population decline
800	
	abandonment of Kaminaljuyu
	Lower Plaza, Palangana, became a "monument plaza" in 8th century
	Preclassic stone sculpture resurrected & reassembled
	resurgence of Highland Maya
700	Teotihuacan withdrawal (or absorption?) by A.D. 700
Amatle 2	increased dispersal in Valley of Guatemala
subphase	increased secularism; fewer temple compounds
	Lower Plaza, Palangana, enclosed to full height
	last additions to "shrine-atrium" compound at Palangana
	last additions to C-II-4 Acropolis (Ball Court "A"), over prior structures
	last eight ball courts at site (enclosed; east-west oriented); with tenoned stone markers
600	
	maximum population (c. 20,000); mixed Teotihuacan & local Maya
	residential/administrative, *talud-tablero,* "shrine-atrium" compound (with Esperanza Tomb 1), in center of Lower Plaza at the Palangana
	C-II-12, -13, -14 "Palangana" acropolis built over former Arenal structures (as at nearby C-II-4 Acropolis)
	C-II-4 Acropolis in north-central sector; with *talud-tablero* temple-pyramid complex
Esperanza—	defaced & broken Preclassic sculptures incorporated or displayed on Mounds "A" & "B"
Amatle 1	burial Mounds "A" & "B" in southeast sector (mixed Teotihuacan and Maya elite offerings in tombs)
	adobe-surfaced, *talud-tablero,* architecture (Teotihuacan imitations)
	compact concentrations of civic architecture; elite tombs in "foreign barrios"
	first four ball courts (open-ended; north-south oriented); centrally located
	first Mexican ("Teotihuacanoid") stone sculpture (Preclassic Maya sculpture smashed & defaced?)
	Teotihuacan intrusion & domination ("Port-of-Trade" ?); with some Mexican-Maya syncretism
400	

	400	
Aurora		end of Maya domination decline relative to Terminal Preclassic florescence fewer known mound groups (D-III-1 and D-III-13, most notable) modelled mud architectural reliefs almost no known stone sculpture population stability
	200	
Arenal subphase		population growth (competing dynasties; some mutilation of monuments?) intimate association of ceremonial & residential precincts diversification of stone sculpture ("proto-Maya" in style; associated with hieroglyphic texts)
	A.D.	
	B.C.	
Verbena subphase		craft specialization; long-distance trade social hierarchy; deification of rulers? elite tombs with sumptuous offerings (cf. Mound E-III-3) largest (terraced and staired) pyramid-temple mounds; grouped around plazas florescence; maximum site development; maximum production of stone sculpture
	200	
Providencia		early proliferation of stone sculpture flat-topped conical mounds built on raised platforms, with frontal ramps long rectangular parallel plaza alignments flanked by low platforms and temple mounds earliest "ceremonial centers" (with civic and modest mortuary architecture)
	500	
Las Charcas		evidence for first stone sculpture (700–500 B.C.?) pottery (including Olmecoid figurines and roller stamps) in bottle-shaped refuse pits & mixed fill sparce occupation (1000 people, total?); in nucleated villages no evidence of permanent architecture (in Kaminaljuyu Project survey)
	900	
Arevalo		no evidence of occupation (limited presence of Early Preclassic sherds in scattered fill)

TABLE 3. CHRONOLOGICAL SYNOPSIS OF SCULPTURAL STYLE FEATURES, SPECIFIC KAMINALJUYU MONUMENTS, AND SELECTED OUTSIDE MONUMENTS

Sculpture Divisions (*see Table 1*)	Selected Features of Sculpture Types and Styles (*see text for complete analysis*)	Kaminaljuyu Monuments M. = monument St. = stela A. = altar Sil. = silhouetted relief Ped. = pedestal sculpture	Selected Sculptures From Other Regions (*expanded in text*) AT = Abaj Takalik TZ = Tres Zapotes
1550	Toltec and Mixtec influences in Southern Maya area		Tajumulco, Quen Santo, and hilltop sites in Guatemalan highlands
VI Late Mexican	crude full-round sculptures, petroglyphs, Postclassic pedestal sculptures, & ball court markers	(none known)	(Tonala and Tazumal on Pacific Coast)
950			
	Cotzumalhuapa style sculpture		Entire sculptural inventory, Cotzumalhuapa style, from Pacific Coast & Antigua Valley (*see Parsons 1969*)
700	tenoned ball court sculptures	ball game *hachas,* yokes, & tripod mushroom stones M. 14, 23, 25–30, 33–37	
600			
V Early Mexican	Teotihuacanoid style monuments	M. 10, 12, 61 St. 13, 23	AT Mons. 7, 14
	tenoned ball court sculptures	M. 31, 32 (& 24?)	
400			
Transition	sculptural interim in southern area	(mud reliefs, Mounds D-III-1, -13)	Uolantun Stela 1 Uaxactun Stelae 5, 9
	(dominance, Maya Lowlands)	St. 24 (plain)	"Leiden Plate" Tikal Stela 29 Hauberg stela
200			

	(florescence)	Miraflores	Arenal	Izapa	Other Sites
(late) **IV** Izapan	diversity & innovation emphasis on low relief narrative compositions "proto-Maya" styles single standing figures plain stelae abundant silhouetted reliefs four-legged altars toad altars	St. 2, 8 Sil. 1, 8, 10, 12 & 13	A. 2 St. 6, 7, 15, 18 & 21 Sil. 4	Stelae 1, 5, 12, 22, 25, 26, 27, 67	Matisse & Tepatlaxco stelae Polol Altar 1 Uaxactun Stela 10 Loltun cave relief El Meson Mon. 2 Bilbao Mon. 42 AT Stelae 1, 4, 5 El Baul Stela 1
A.D.					
B.C.	calendrical dates & hieroglyphic texts celestial & terrestrial bands celestial & diving deities proliferation profile dragons serpent-bird deities ball game iconography trophy head cult stela-altar cult	St. 10 St. 11, 12, 26, 28 Sil. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11 A. 3–7, 11, 13 M. 16–19, 49, 51–56	A. 1 M. 63 & 65 St. 1, 20, 22 &25 A. 8, 9, 10, 14	Stelae 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 18, 21, 23, 24, 45, 50, 60 Altars 3, 20 Thrones 1, 2, 3	El Baul "rampant jaguar" Chocola stela AT Stelae 2, 3 TZ Stelae A–D & Mon. C
Izapan **IV** (early)					
200					

		Olmecoid	Monte Alto	Izapa	Other Sites
200					
III Post-Olmec	increased low relief ("planar") plain stelae (?) full-round sculpture ("engaged" relief) zoomorphic altars last Preclassic colossal heads effigy boulder sculptures potbelly sculptures first celestial bands increased grotesque imagery increased glyphic symbols trophy head cult	St. 4 & 19, 5 & 16 A. 12 M. 5, 9, 11, 15, 42, 43, 44, 60 M. 1, 2 St. 17	M. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 38–41, 57, 58	Stelae 3, 6, 11, 19, 20, 28 zoomorphic altars, & Mon. 3	Monte Alto Mon. 3, plus boulders (5) & heads (5) Santa Leticia boulders (3) entire potbelly distribution Tikal & Copan "potbellies" Palo Gordo *piedra santa* La Flora monuments Sabana Grande boulder Cerro de las Mesas Mons. 2, 5 Medias Aguas head (Veracruz) Monte Alban Danzantes
500					
Transition	full round & low relief plain & carved columnar basalts boulder sculptures niche figures pedestal sculptures (& bench figures) last rock carvings (groove-incising) first scroll motifs first basal bands rare hieroglyphic columns	St. 3, 9 (Danzante) Ped. 1–7 M. 50, 59, 62 M. 45–47 (drain troughs)		Izapa Mon. 2 & St. 89	Las Victorias (Salvador) boulder AT niche figures & Mon. 6 SinCabezasgroup Tiltepec group TZ Mon. F Cerro el Vigia colossal head Alvarado column Chalcatzingo Relief 1 (La Venta, Phase IV)
700					
II Late Olmec	beginning of low relief stelae and panels rock carvings cave paintings full-round sculpture colossal heads first profile dragons proto-glyph symbols (portable jade carvings, etc.)	(none known)		La Venta Stelae 2, 3 TZ (two colossal heads) Viejon stela, Veracruz Padre Piedra & Pijijiapan, Chiapas AT petroglyph 1 "Shook Panel" (Suchitepequez) Chalcatzingo cliff reliefs Guerrero cave paintings	
900					
I Early Olmec 1250	emphasis full-round sculpture & stylistic naturalism colossal stone heads seated figures altars ("thrones") with niche figures	(absent)		La Venta, Phase I; Stela 1 San Lorenzo Cerro de la Laguna	

TABLE 4. CONSECUTIVE ANNOTATED LIST, BY CATEGORY, ALL MONUMENTAL STONE SCULPTURES FROM KAMINALJUYU

Total numbered monumental sculptures: Monuments, 65; Stelae, 28; Altars, 14; Silhouetted Reliefs, 13; Pedestal Sculptures, 7. Total, Kaminaljuyu: 127.
(Inventory generally excludes portable sculptures less than c. 50 cm)

Monument Number	*Brief Description*	*Dimensions*	*Site Provenience*	*Style Division*
Illustration, this book. Present Location (MN = Museo Nacional, Guatemala)		L = length H = height W = width D = depth Diam. = diameter	(see Maps 4, 5)	(see Tables 1, 3)
		MONUMENTS		
Mon. 1 Fig. 57 MN 2068	serpent head fragment on expanded rectangular base	Total H 75 cm carving H 35 cm W 46 cm D 20 cm	south edge of Palangana complex (C-II-14)	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 2 Fig. 52 MN 2042	profile monster on two sides of columnar basalt	L 264 cm W 96 cm D 45 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 3 Fig. 94 MN 2075	potbelly sculpture	H 110 cm W 70 cm D 55 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 4 Fig. 93 MN 2073	potbelly sculpture	H 118 cm W 65 cm D 58 cm	Lower Plaza. Palangana	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 5 Fig. 68 MN (Aurora Park Zoo)	feline-headed boulder sculpture	H 100 cm W 68 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 6 Fig. 96 MN 2064	potbelly sculpture (with basin in head)	H 105 cm W 60 cm D 50 cm	former "gate post" to Finca Arevalo	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 7 Fig. 98 MN (Aurora Park Zoo)	potbelly sculpture (head now missing)	H 76 cm Diam. 65 cm	former "gate post" to Finca Arevalo	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 8 Fig. 95 Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	potbelly sculpture	H 105 cm Diam. 75 cm	*Trebol* intersection, southeast of site	III (Monte Alto)

Mon. 9 Fig. 71 MN 2058	small boulder sculpture with disk	H 73 cm Diam. 45 cm	*Trebol* intersection, southeast of site	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 10 Fig. 191 MN 2065 (Aurora Park Zoo)	vertically tenoned block with four human faces	H 95 cm W 60 cm D 43 cm	first reported SW of Mound C-IV-8	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 11 Fig. 70 MN (Aurora Park Zoo)	headless boulder sculpture (mate to Mon. 15)	H 70 cm	formerly at entrance, Finca La Majada, west edge of site	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 12 Fig. 192 MN 2059	human head fragment	H 43 cm W 47 cm D 40 cm	east of Mounds A and B	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 13 (not illustrated) present location unknown	"crude column with faint human features" (Lothrop 1926: 166)	?	vicinity of Mound B-IV-1	?
Mon. 14 Fig. 206 MN 2067	vertically tenoned serpent head	L 76 cm H 59 cm W 22 cm	near low Mound D-III-2	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 15 Fig. 69 MN (number?)	"turret-headed" boulder sculpture	H 90 cm W 80 cm	unknown	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 16 Fig. 125 MN 2047	colossal three-pronged incense burner with grotesque head	H 79 cm Diam. 65 cm	Mound D-III-6	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 17 Figs. 127, 128 MN 2045	colossal three-pronged incense burner with grotesque head	H 102 cm Diam. 80 cm	Mound D-III-6	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 18 Fig. 126 MN 2046	colossal three-pronged incense burner with grotesque head	H 85 cm Diam. 76 cm	Mound D-III-6	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 19 (not illustrated) private collection, Guatemala	human torso with "bow tie" and "stiff bib" (Miles 1965; fig. 16d)	H c. 70 cm	E-IV district	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 20 (not illustrated) MN 579 (location unknown)	bulky base to a monument (Villacorta 1932: 118)	H 46 cm Diam. 22 cm	?	?

Mon. 21 (not illustrated) MN 580 (location unknown)	lower fragment of pedestal-based sculpture (Villacorta 1932: 118)	H 110 cm W 37 cm D 21 cm	?	?
Mon. 22 (not illustrated) MN 581 (location unknown)	"monkey" head fragment (Villacorta 1932: 119)	H 42 cm W 19 cm D 25 cm	?	?
Mon. 23 Fig. 207 MN 2061	horizontally tenoned serpent head	L 69 cm H 43 cm W 18 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 24 (not illustrated) present location unknown	horizontally tenoned human head (Villacorta 1932: 116)	L 72 cm W 20 cm. D 20 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 25 Fig. 208 MN 578 (Aurora Park Zoo)	serpent head with short tenon	L 100 cm H 68 cm W 50 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 26 Fig. 204 MN 2049	horizontally tenoned serpent head	L 125 cm H 70 cm W 20 cm	Ball Court F (F-V-1)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 27 (not illustrated) MN 2069	horizontally tenoned monkey head	L 70 cm	Ball Court A (C-II-4)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 28 Fig. 205 MN 2086	horizontally tenoned serpent head	L 88 cm H 48 cm W 30 cm	Ball Court F (?) (F-V-1)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 29 Fig. 203 MN 2087	horizontally tenoned parrot head with human head in beak	L 145 cm H 70 cm W 37 cm	Ball Court A (C-II-4)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 30 (not illustrated) MN 2090	(paired with Mon. 29) smaller, more damaged	L 131 cm H 68 cm W 36 cm	Ball Court A (C-II-4)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 31 Fig. 200 MN 2060	horizontally tenoned human head	L 62 cm H 35 cm W 30 cm	Ball Court B (C-II-7)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 32 Fig. 201 MN 2806	horizontally tenoned parrot head	(dimensions close to Mon. 31)	Ball Court G (B-III-5)	V (Teotihuacanoid)

Mon. 33 Fig. 209 Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	tenoned serpent head (recarved from Stela 1 ?)	L 90 cm H 68 cm D 30 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 34 Fig. 202 MN (Aurora Park Zoo)	horizontally tenoned jaguar head	L 95 cm H 50 cm W 43 cm	Ball Court A (C-II-4)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 35 (not illustrated) MN 4383	horizontally tenoned jaguar head	L 65 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 36 (not illustrated) MN 4236	horizontally tenoned jaguar head	L 45 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 37 (not illustrated) MN (number ?)	horizontally tenoned serpent head with human face in jaw	L 75 cm H 44 cm W 32 cm	Ball Court F (F-V-1)	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 38 Fig. 101 MN 2141	head from potbelly sculpture	H 24 cm	Mound B (F-VI-2) above Tomb B-1	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 39 Fig. 100 MN (Aurora Park Zoo)	lower half of potbelly sculpture	H c. 50 cm	unknown	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 40 Fig. 97 MN 3138	headless potbelly sculpture	H 55 cm	unknown	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 41 Fig. 99 Parque de Kaminaljuyu	headless potbelly sculpture	H 65 cm W 60 cm D 65 cm	Mound C-III-1	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 42 Figs. 61, 62, 63 in situ, Parque de Kaminaljuyu	profile-headed anthropomorphic boulder monster	H 130 cm W 124 cm D 50 cm	platform north of Mound C-III-2	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 43 Figs. 61, 64, 65 in situ Parque de Kaminaljuyu	full-round feline demon	H 72 cm W 48 cm L 90 cm	platform north of Mound C-III-2	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 44 Fig. 66 Parque de Kaminaljuyu	fragment of bulky full-round sculpture	H 50 cm W 62 cm	(same location as Mons. 42, 43 ?)	III (?)

Mon. 45 Fig. 48 Parque de Kaminaljuyu	U-shaped drain trough	L 82 cm H 30 cm W 36 cm	Mound C-III-2 vicinity (?)	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Mon. 46 (not illustrated) Parque de Kaminaljuyu	U-shaped drain trough	L 52 cm H 15 cm W 33 cm	Mound C-III-2 vicinity (?)	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Mon. 47 Fig. 49 MN 6370	serpent-headed drain trough (resembling a "gargoyle")	L 107 cm	unknown	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Mon. 48 (not illustrated) Parque de Kaminaljuyu	"rudder-shaped" slab with L-shaped indentation	L 111 cm W 27 cm D 11 cm	south of C-II-4 Acropolis	?
Mon. 49 Fig. 124 MN 3095	grotesque head fragment	H 43 cm W 26 cm D 13 cm	250 m west of Mound A	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 50 Fig. 24 MN 4235	anthropomorphic bat (?) over human torso	H 44 cm W 38 cm	Parque de la Industria, Guatemala City	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Mon. 51 Fig. 133 Joya Hairs collection, Guatemala	stone ball with face	Diam. 35 cm	cache, 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 52 Fig. 134 Joya Hairs collection, Guatemala	"piggyback" monkeys	H 38 cm W 16.5 cm	cache, 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 53 Fig. 135 private collection, Guatemala	full-round "pisote"	H 31 cm W 17 cm	cache, 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 54 Fig. 136 private collection, Guatemala	full-round human figure	H 51 cm W 24 cm	cache, 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 55 Fig. 137 Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	grotesque mask	H 40 cm W 24 cm	unknown	IV (early Miraflores)
Mon. 56 Fig. 174 MN 2374	stone with scroll panel	c. 70 cm square D c. 38 cm	south edge of Mound E-III-5	IV (early Miraflores)

Mons. 57, 58 Fig. 102 Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	pair of miniature potbelly sculptures	H 37 and 38 cm	unknown	III (Monte Alto)
Mon. 59 Fig. 23 private collection, Antigua	headless seated figure without base support	H 26 cm	unknown	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Mon. 60 Fig. 60 private collection, Antigua	seated human figure	H 57 cm W 45 cm D 30 cm	unknown	III (Olmecoid)
Mon. 61 Figs. 193, 194 MN (number?)	large human head with animal headdress	H 100 cm W 79 cm D 65 cm	south of Acropolis C-II-14	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Mon. 62 Figs. 26, 27 MN (number?)	headless seated figure with carved face on torso	H 69 cm W 74 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Mon. 63 Fig. 146 MN (number?)	"banquette" with carved panels	L 172 cm H 60 cm D 29 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana (Tomb 1)	IV (early Arenal)
Mon. 64 (not illustrated) present location unknown	large boulder fragment with trace of plume or flame motifs	?	north of low Mound C-III-4	V (?)
Mon. 65 Fig. 149 MN (number?)	large monument with three tiers of three figures	H 290 cm W 200 cm D 33 cm	c. 400 m SW of Acropolis and 100 m SE of Mound B-III-1	IV (early Arenal)
		STELAE		
Stela 1 Figs. 144, 145 MN (number ?)	paneled composition with dragon monster (incomplete)	L 93 cm W 70 cm D 28 cm	northeast corner of Acropolis C-II-14	IV (early Arenal)
Stela 2 Fig. 182 MN (numbers?)	two parts (see Stela 14): elaborately costumed standing figure	reconstructed present H 120 cm (each part c. 60 cm)	lower section from northeast of Mound C-IV-8	IV (late Miraflores)
Stela 3 Fig. 9 MN 2066	grooved "ring-tail" fish	H 128 cm W 58 cm D 23 cm	west of Mound C-IV-9	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"

Stela 4 Fig. 56 MN 2050 (3124?)	incomplete panel with anthropomorphic demon (cf. Stela 19)	H 86 cm W 88 cm D 8 cm	unknown	III (Olmecoid)
Stela 5 Fig. 53 MN 2044	fat human profile face surrounded by profile dragon heads	H 153 cm W 80 cm D 30 cm	unknown	III (Olmecoid)
Stela 6 Fig. 159 MN 2819	figure bending over dragon	H 70 cm W 53 cm D 14 cm	Mound B (F-VI-2)	IV (late Arenal)
Stela 7 (not illustrated) MN 2822	broken and scaled stela (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 167b)	H 82 cm D 19 cm	Mound A (F-VI-1)	IV (late Arenal)
Stela 8 Fig. 177 MN 2052	abraded fragment with figures	H 110 cm W 97 cm D 22 cm	unknown	IV (late Miraflores)
Stela 9 Fig. 5 MN 2359	columnar basalt with Danzante figure	H 145 cm W 22 cm	Mound C-III-6	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Stela 10 Fig. 175 MN 2324 (& 8138)	3 fragments of "black altar" with 3 figures and hieroglyphs	L 122 cm W 107 cm D c. 100 cm	level terrain between Mounds D-III-10 & D-IV-2	IV (early Miraflores)
Stela 11 Fig. 169 MN 3093	standing figure on scroll base, with Izapan features	H 183 cm W 70 cm D c. 30 cm	level terrain between Mounds D-III-10 & D-IV-2	IV (early Miraflores)
Stela 12 Fig. 172 MN (number?)	lower fragment, with dragon on base line	H 60 cm W 65 cm D 12 cm	unknown	IV (early Miraflores)
Stela 13 Fig. 188 private collection, Guatemala	stylized rattlesnake tail	H c. 70 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Stela 14 (see Fig. 182) (deleted stela number)	(the upper section of Stela 2)	(see Stela 2)	unknown	(see Stela 2)
Stela 15 Fig. 158 MN 2373	fragment with two standing figures and abraded glyph column	H 95 cm W 84 cm D 25 cm	between low Mounds D-III-4 and -15	IV (late Arenal)
Stela 16 Fig. 54	standing human figure facing trophy head	Total H 70 cm (carved area,	unknown	III (Olmecoid)

private collection, Guatemala		46 cm) W 28 cm; D 6 cm		
Stela 17 Figs. 50, 51 MN (number?)	old man with staff and celestial band	H 116 cm W 62 cm D 36 cm	unknown	III (Olmecoid)
Stela 18 Fig. 160 MN (number?)	large fragment with tassel motifs	W 130 cm H 74 cm D 19 cm	unknown	IV (late Arenal)
Stela 19 Fig. 55 Joya Hairs collection, Guatemala	panel with anthropomorphic demon grasping serpent	H 109 cm W 105 cm D 8 cm	unknown	III (Olmecoid)
Stela 20 Fig. 143 private collection, Guatemala	altar-like fragment with demons and scrolls	48 × 46 cm	unknown	IV (early Arenal)
Stela 21 Fig. 157 MN 8135	mid-section fragment with human figures and glyphs	L 70 cm W 40 cm D 12.5 cm	unknown	IV (late Arenal)
Stela 22 Fig. 150 MN (number?)	silhouette-like fragment with human head and shoulders	H 30 cm W 35.5 cm D 10 cm	unknown	IV (early Arenal)
Stela 23 Fig. 190 MN (?)	panel with Teotihuacanoid face	H 87 cm W 45 cm D 11 cm	unknown	V (Teotihuacanoid)
Stela 24 (not illustrated) present location unknown	plain stela (Berlin 1952: figs. 1, 6)	H 185 cm W 45 cm D 14 cm	Mound D-III-13	IV (Aurora phase transition?)
Stela 25 Figs. 147, 148 MN (number?)	"ball player" in jaws of earth monster	H 110 cm W 80 cm D 12 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	IV (early Arenal)
Stela 26 Fig. 171 Parque de Kaminaljuyu	two defaced sections, with preserved basal panel	Total estimated H 300 cm W 94 cm; D 32 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	IV (early Miraflores)
Stela 27 (not illustrated) Parque de Kaminaljuyu	plain stela (pentagonal cross-section)	L 80 cm W 62 cm D 26 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	IV (Miraflores?)

Stela 28 Fig. 173 Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	upper portion, with monster in panel	W 133 cm H 53 cm D 9 cm	unknown	IV (early Miraflores)
		ALTARS		
Altar 1 Fig. 153 MN 2072	four-legged fragment with figures and glyphs	L 110 cm W 91 cm D 22 cm	C-II-14 Acropolis	IV (early Arenal)
Altar 2 Fig. 161 MN 2043	two kneeling figures facing glyph column	L 88 cm W 75 cm D 28 cm	Mound B (F-VI-2)	IV (late Arenal)
Altar 3 Fig. 130 MN 2372	plain toad	L 73 cm W 52 cm H 23 cm	near low Mound D-III-15	IV (early Miraflores)
Altar 4 (not illustrated) present location unknown	small toad with basin (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 40)	L 52 cm	between Mounds A and B	IV (early Miraflores)
Altar 5 Fig. 129 MN 8552	large toad with basin	L 105 cm H 52 cm	between Mounds A-V-6 and A-V-8	IV (early Miraflores)
Altar 6 Fig. 131 MN 8137 (?)	plain toad	L 90 cm	unknown	IV (early Miraflores)
Altar 7 Fig. 132 Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	flat toad	L 67 cm W 54 cm	unknown	IV (early Miraflores)
Altar 8 Fig. 142 MN (number?)	four-legged fragment with dragon and scrolls	L 42 cm W 32 cm Total H 16 cm (leg H 7.3 cm)	unknown	IV (early Arenal)
Altar 9 Figs. 139, 140 MN 6368a	drum-shaped tetrapod, with serpent-bird monster around circumference	Total H 59 cm (feet H 6 cm) Diam. 26 cm Circum. 78 cm	cache, 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8	IV (early Arenal)
Altar 10 Figs. 139, 141 MN 6368b	(paired with Altar 9) mirror-image composition	Total H 65 cm (feet H 6 cm) Diam. 27 cm Circum. 83 cm	(same cache as Altar 9)	IV (early Arenal)

Altar 11 (not illustrated) Parque de Kaminaljuyu	toad fragment	L 87 cm W 80 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	IV (early Miraflores)
Altar 12 Fig. 67 MN (number?)	zoomorphic dragon	L 150 cm W 106 cm D 50 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	III (Olmecoid)
Altar 13 (not illustrated) Parque de Kaminaljuyu	toad fragment	L 105 cm W 54 cm D 40 cm	Lower Plaza, Palangana	IV (early Miraflores)
Altar 14 Fig. 152 Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	four-legged fragment with profile dragon	W 55 cm D 9.5 cm	unknown	IV (early Arenal)

SILHOUETTED RELIEFS

Sil. 1 Fig. 178 MN 2235	fragment of standing human figure with dragon bustle	H 46 cm W 51 cm D 7 cm	west of Mound C-IV-4	IV (late Miraflores)
Sil. 2 Fig. 164 MN 8136	ball game marker with triangle and ring on vertical shaft	H 170 cm ring Diam. 58 cm	C-II-4 Acropolis	IV (early Miraflores)
Sil. 3 Fig. 167 private collection, Guatemala	human head with dragon headdress, scrolls, and missing base	H 62 cm W 39 cm D 6 cm	unknown	IV (early Miraflores)
Sil. 4 Fig. 154 Alvaro Sanchez coll., Guatemala	standing figure wielding axe	H 110 cm	unknown	IV (late Arenal)
Sil. 5 (not illustrated) MN 2816e	fragment (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 142a)	H 18 cm	old Finca Miraflores	IV (early Miraflores)
Sil. 6 (not illustrated) MN 2205	fragment (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946: fig. 142c)	L 34 cm W 14 cm D 7 cm	Mound A (F-VI-1) over Tomb A-II	IV (early Miraflores)
Sil. 7 Fig. 168; no.34.147.20 Peabody Museum, Harvard	fragment with profile face	H 28 cm	old Finca Las Charcas	IV (early Miraflores)

Sil. 8 (& 9) Fig. 181 MN 3997	two fragments of life-sized standing human figure	Total H c. 90 cm (H peg base 25 cm) W 30 cm; D 6.5 cm	Mound C-III-11	IV (late Miraflores)
Sil. 10 Fig. 179 MN 3980	human leg fragment backed by dragon mask	H 47 cm W 33 cm D 6 cm	C-V district	IV (late Miraflores)
Sil. 11 Fig. 166 MN 4281	left-facing dragon fragments	L 65 cm H 35 cm D 6.5 cm	Parque de la Industria, Guatemala City	IV (early Miraflores)
Sil. 12 Fig. 180 MN 3986	fragment	19 × 18 cm D 5 cm	unknown	IV (late Miraflores)
Sil. 13 Fig. 180 MN 10170	fragment, seated figure on mat design	H 29 cm W 19 cm	miscellaneous surface find in northwest district	IV (late Miraflores)

PEDESTAL SCULPTURES

Ped. 1 and 2 (not illustrated) present location unknown	plain broken shafts, found with Stela 9	?	Mound C-III-6	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Ped. 3 Fig. 38 MN 2378	headless jaguar on scrolled bench	H 33 cm W 17 cm D 11 cm	Mound E-III-3	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Ped. 4 Fig. 35 MN 2053	standing human figure on peg base, with perforations between limbs	H 56 cm W 18 cm D 16 cm	unknown	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Ped. 5 (not illustrated) Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala	(identical to Ped. 3)	H 76 cm	unknown	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Ped. 6 Fig. 39 Parque de Kaminaljuyu	broken kneeling human figure on scrolled bench and long shaft	H 132 cm W 25 cm D 18 cm	north of C-II-4 Acropolis	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"
Ped. 7 Fig. 38 Parque de Kaminaljuyu	broken seated figure on scrolled bench	H 82 cm W 37 cm D 38 cm	C-II-4 Acropolis	III 700 to 500 B.C. "Transition"

TABLE 5. ERRATA LIST FOR SUZANNE W. MILES'S ARTICLE (1965)

MILES, SUZANNE W. 1965 Sculpture of the Guatemala-Chiapas Highlands and Pacific Slopes, and Associated Hieroglyphs. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (Robert Wauchope, ed.) 2: 237–275. University of Texas Press, Austin.

(Compilation by the author; made possible by access to the original typescript by Miles. It should be noted that Miles's terminal illness prevented her from proofreading the galley proofs before this article went to press—with an unfortunate number of misleading typographical errors.)

Captions to Illustrations

fig. 8e	Kaminaljuyu, Silhouette "X" (not "2")
fig. 9a	Stela 2, Abaj Takalik (not "3")
fig. 9b	Kaminaljuyu, Stela 13 (not "11")
fig. 10a	Kaminaljuyu, Monument 4 (not "6")
fig. 10c	Monte Alto. Monument 6 (not "2")
fig. 16d	Kaminaljuyu, Monument 19 (not "fragment")
fig. 17a	Kaminaljuyu, Stela 12 (not "13")
fig. 19d	Copan, Honduras (not "south coast," as this sculpture no. 2115 had always been labeled in the Guatemala National Museum)

Table (Footnote 4: 246)

B ... J	..... Stela 2
M ... K	(not "J") .... Monument 10
O ... P	(not "N"). .... Monument 12 (not "11")
P ... N	(not "P") .... Monument 11 (not "12")

(Note: Stela 14 is listed here, but not described in the text. Apparently it was her original designation for the top portion of Stela 2, fig. 17b.)

Text

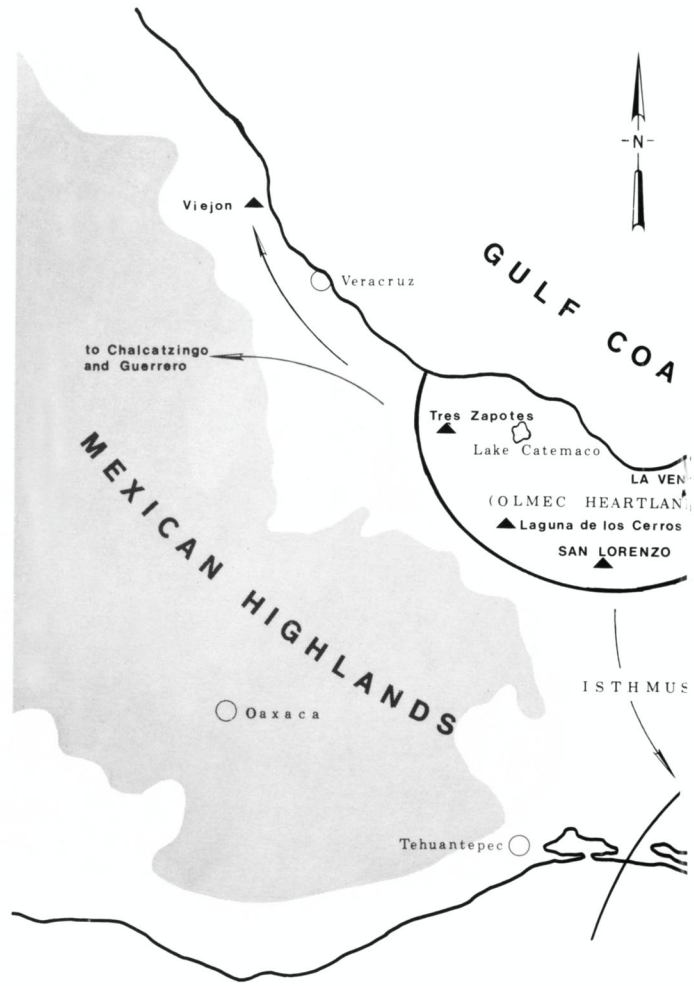
p. 246, col. 1, line 11	Monument 6 (not "2")
p. 247, col. 2, line 1	The second (not "last") head . . .
p. 250, col. 1, line 9	(1926–33, Tafel 39) (not "Table")
p. 251, col. 1, line 26	(1926a, fig. a and fig. 5 a . . . (not fig. 5 "d")
p. 251, ftn. 8	La Venta Stela 3 (not "5")
same, line 4	(fig. 68) (not "69")
p. 252, col. 1, line 30	Stela 4 and Monument 2 (not "1")
p. 254, col. 1, line 8	Petroglyph 1 (not "2")
p. 255, col. 2, line 30	(fig. 3 g) (not "10" g)
p. 256, col. 2, line 36	Chocola (not "Chicola")
p. 257, col. 1, line 18	Izapa (not "Izaja")
p. 261, col. 2, line 20	Stela 12 (not Stela "13")
p. 262, col. 1, line 43	Monument 19 (not Monument "17")
p. 262, ftn. 19	Covarrubias, 1957, fig. 36 (not fig. "W")
p. 266, col. 2, line 19	Seven whole . . . (not "Six")
p. 269, col. 2, line 22	(Seler, 1900, Tafel 38) (not "Table") (and likewise, same reference in column 1)
p. 270, col. 2, line 28	fig. 38 (not "83")
p. 270, col. 1, line 10	C-II-4 (not "C-III-4")

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF MONTE ALTO STYLE POTBELLY SCULPTURES (*see Map 2*)

(List does not include the boulder sculptures at Monte Alto or Santa Leticia)

Guatemalan Highlands	
Kaminaljuyu	11
San Juan Sacatepequez	1
Antigua	1
Lake Atitlan	1
Santa Cruz Quiche	1
	15
Pacific Coast (Chiapas to El Salvador)	
Tonala-Tapanatepec, Chiapas	1
La Unidad, Chiapas	2
Izapa, Chiapas	1
Abaj Takalik, Retalhuleu	6 (?)
Solola (Tiquisate), Escuintla	3
Bilbao, Escuintla	3
El Baul, Escuintla	1
La Gomera, Escuintla	2
El Balsamo, Escuintla	1
La Concepcion, Escuintla	3
Los Cerritos-South, Escuintla	3
Obero, Escuintla	2
La Nueva, Jutiapa	2
Chalchuapa, El Salvador	3
	33
Total:	48

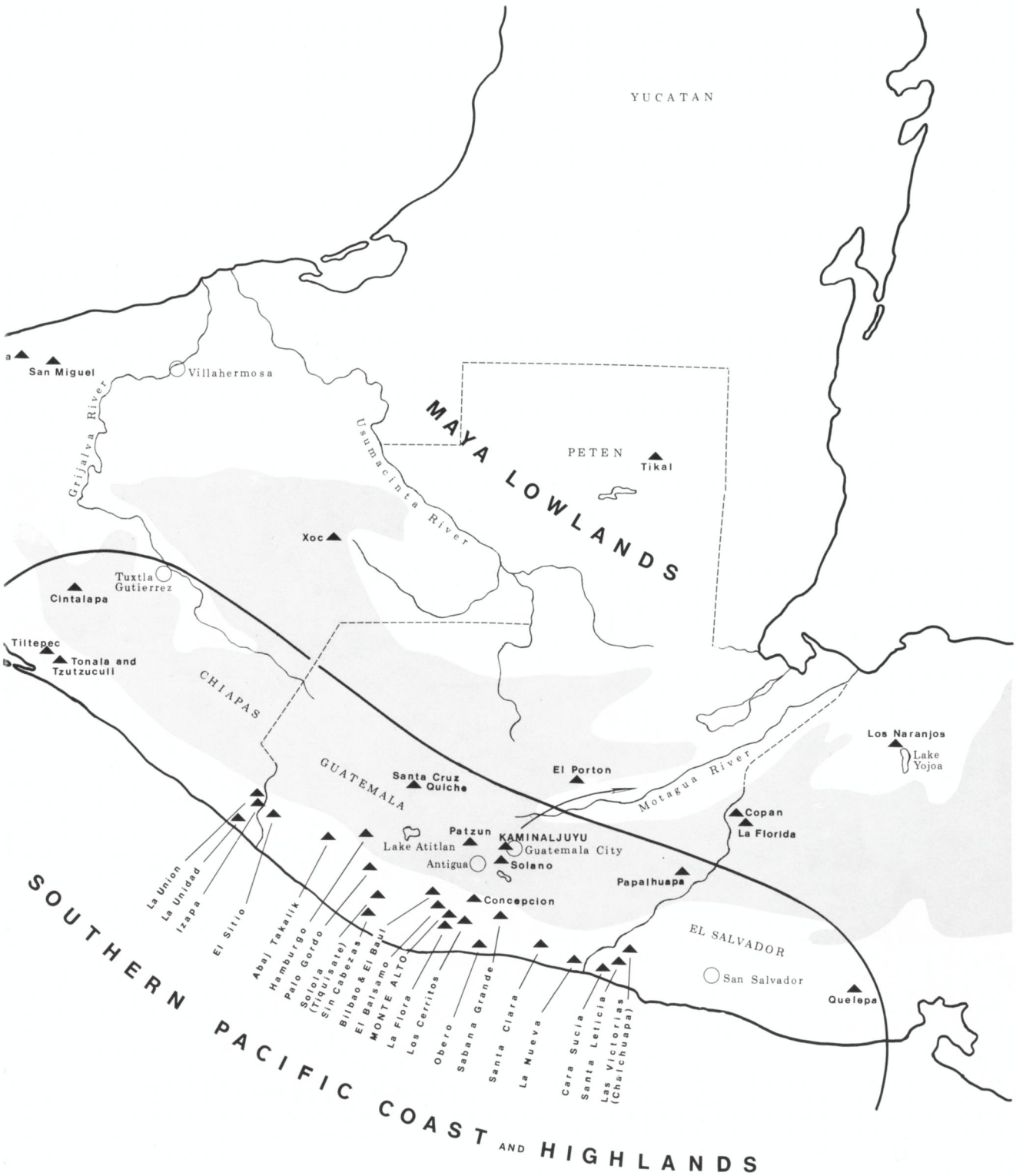
Maps



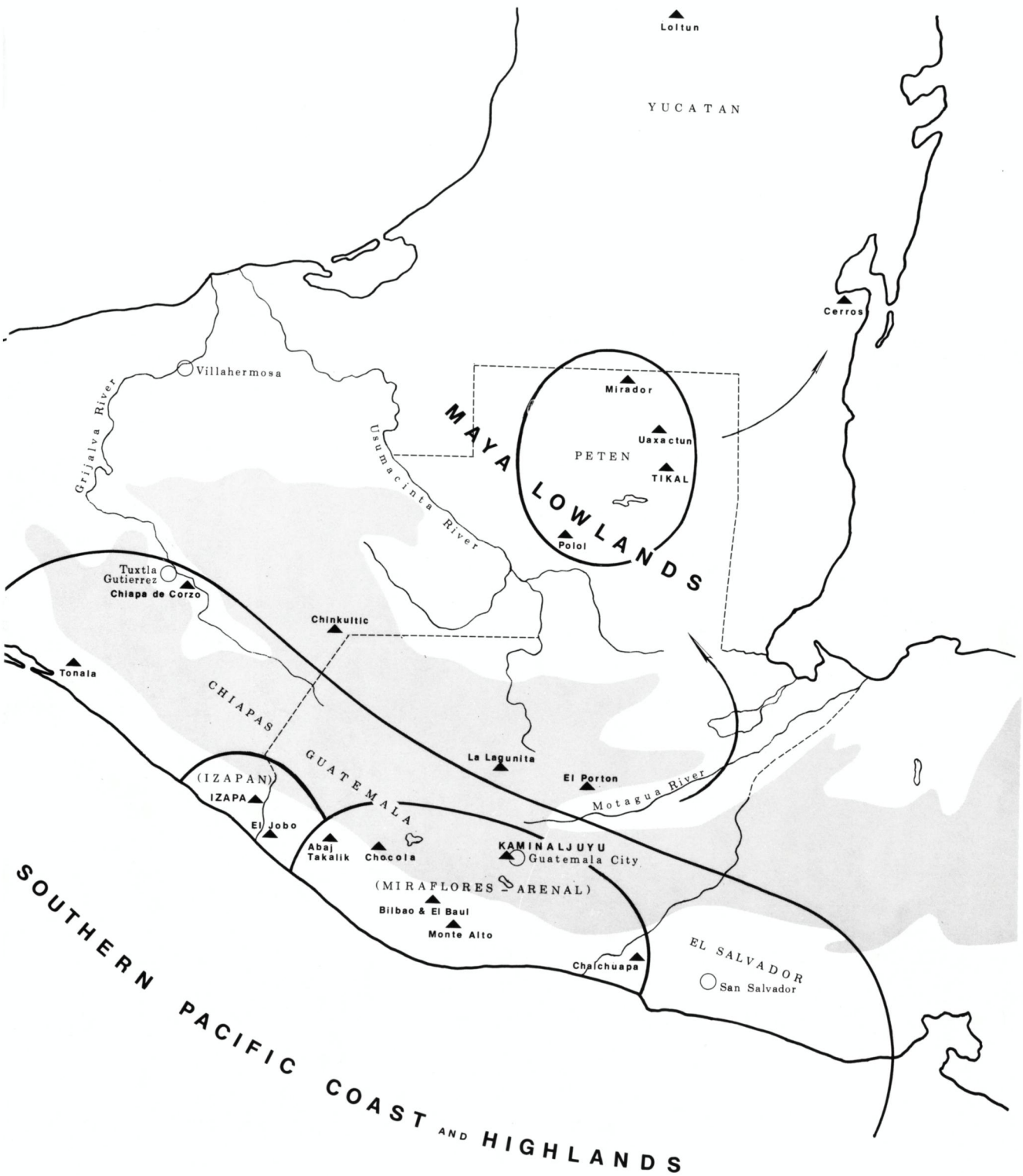
1. Early and Late Olmec Sites with Monumental Sculpture (Sculpture Divisions I and II; 1200–700 B.C.).

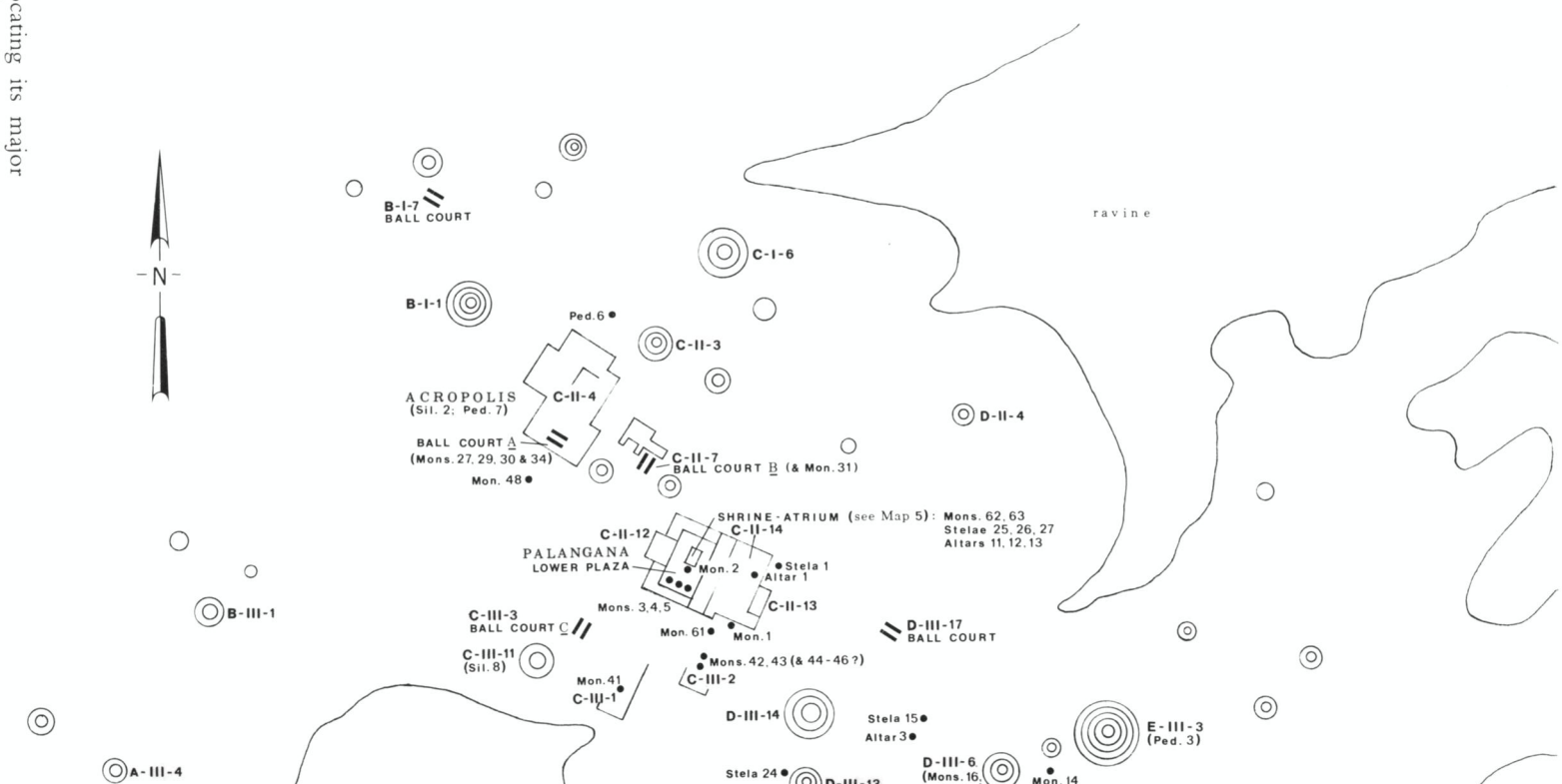
YUCATAN
ST
Grijalva River
Villahermosa
Usumacinta River
MAYA LOWLANDS
PETEN
Tuxtla Gutierrez
Padre Piedra
Tonala and Tzutzuculi
CHIAPAS
Pijijiapan
GUATEMALA
El Porton
Motagua River
Ojo de Agua
Abaj Takalik
Guatemala City
"Shook Panel"
Lake Amatitlan
EL SALVADOR
San Salvador
SOUTHERN PACIFIC COAST AND HIGHLANDS

2. Transition and Post-Olmec Sites with Monumental Sculpture (Sculpture Division III; 700–200 B.C.).

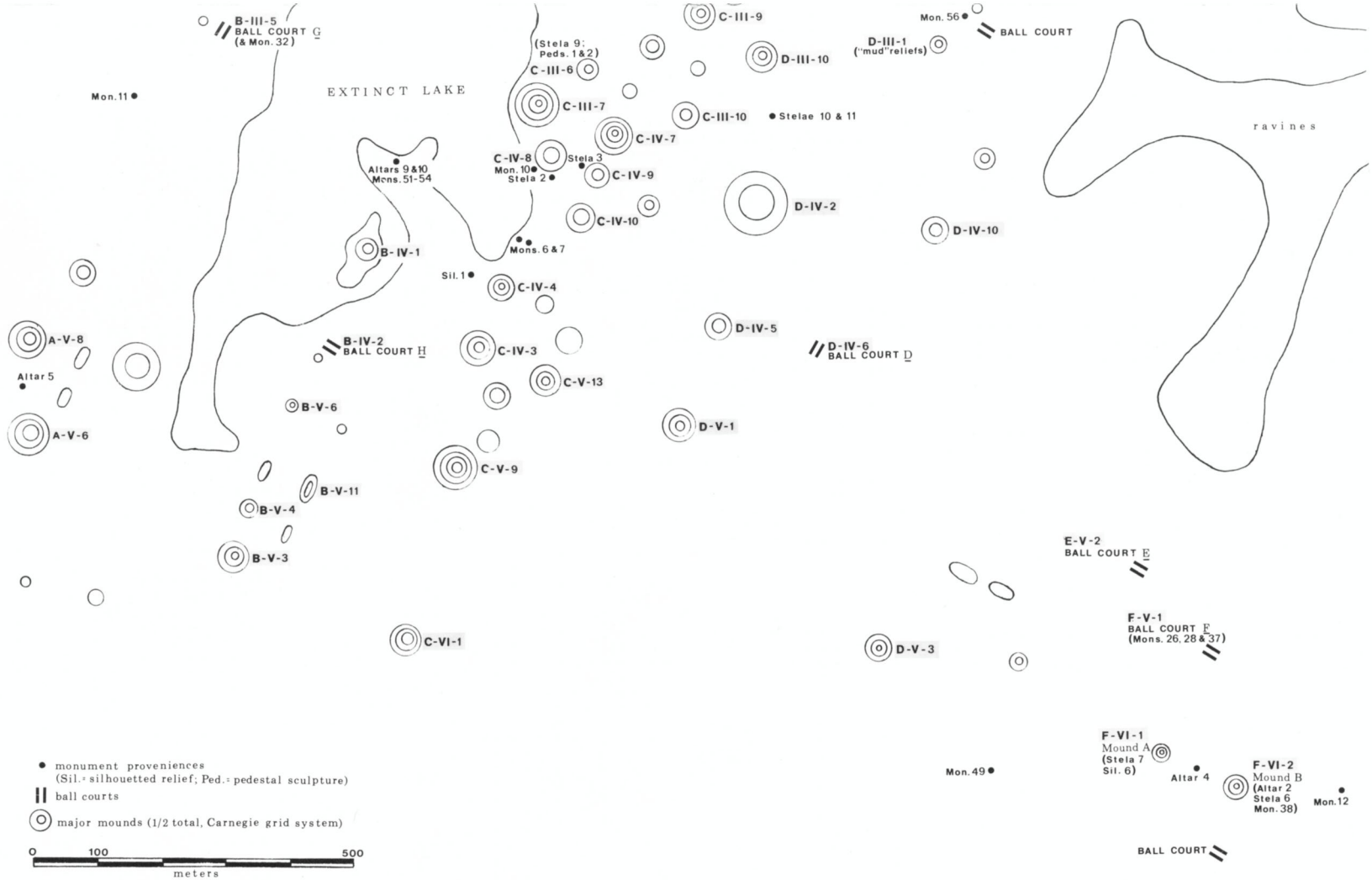

YUCATAN
San Miguel
Villahermosa
Grijalva River
Usumacinta River
MAYA LOWLANDS
PETEN
Tikal
Xoc
Tuxtla Gutierrez
Cintalapa
Tiltepec
Tonala and Tzutzucuil
CHIAPAS
GUATEMALA
Santa Cruz Quiche
El Porton
Motagua River
Los Naranjos
Lake Yojoa
Copan
La Florida
Patzun
Lake Atitlan
KAMINALJUYU
Guatemala City
Antigua
Solano
Papalhuapa
Concepcion
La Union
La Unidad
Izapa
El Sitio
Abaj Takalik
Hamburgo
Palo Gordo
Solola (Tiquisate)
Sin Cabezas
Bilbao & El Baul
El Balsamo
MONTE ALTO
La Flora
Los Cerritos
Obero
Sabana Grande
Santa Clara
La Nueva
Cara Sucia
Santa Leticia
Las Victorias (Chalchuapa)
EL SALVADOR
San Salvador
Quelepa
SOUTHERN PACIFIC COAST AND HIGHLANDS

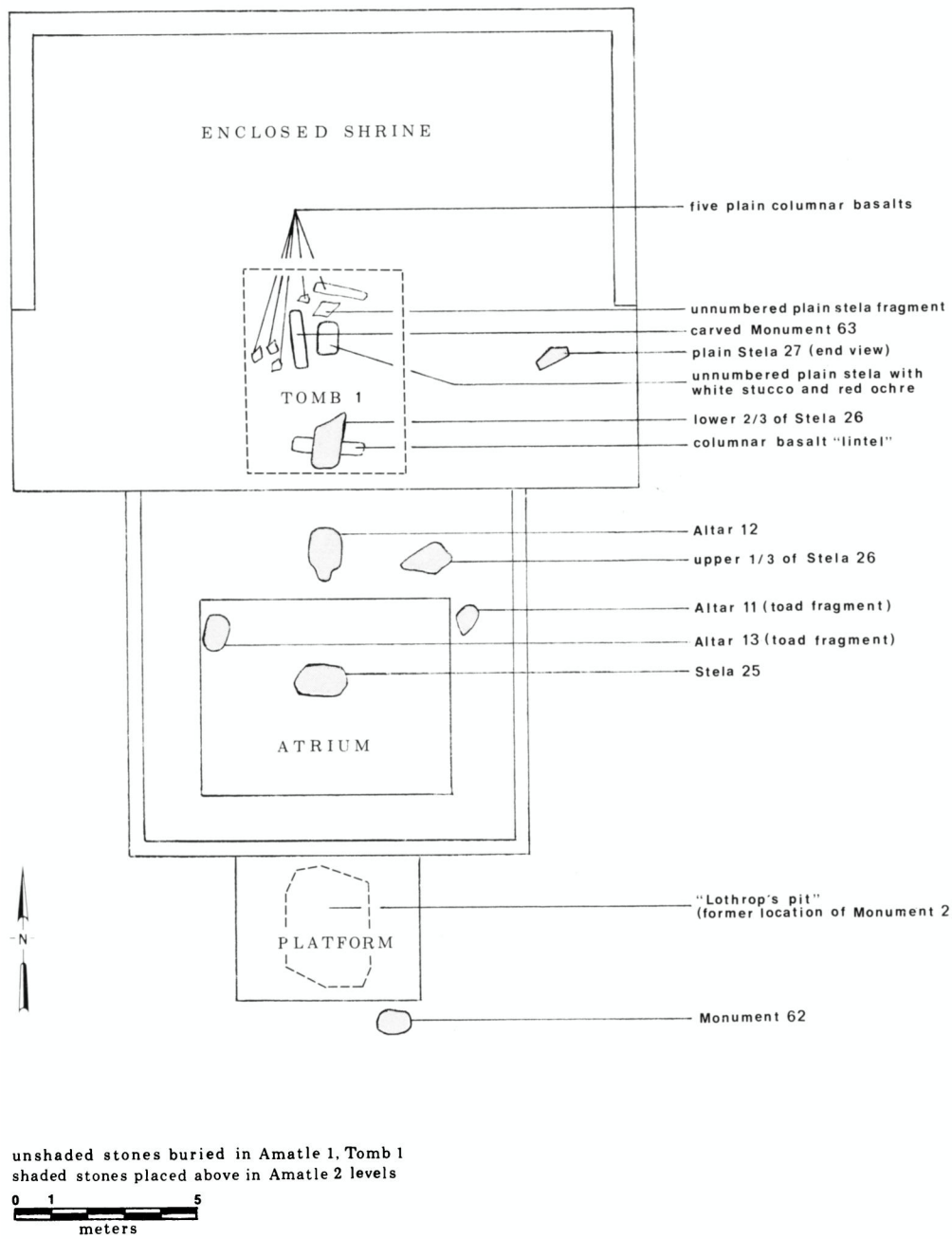
3. Izapan and Miraflores-Arenal Sites with Monumental Sculpture (Sculpture Division IV; 200 B.C.–A.D. 200).


Loltun
YUCATAN
Cerros
Villahermosa
Grijalva River
Usumacinta River
MAYA LOWLANDS
Mirador
Uaxactun
PETEN
TIKAL
Polol
Tuxtla Gutierrez
Chiapa de Corzo
Chinkultic
Tonala
CHIAPAS
GUATEMALA
La Lagunita
El Porton
Motagua River
(IZAPAN)
IZAPA
El Jobo
Abaj Takalik
Chocola
KAMINALJUYU
Guatemala City
(MIRAFLORES - ARENAL)
Bilbao & El Baul
Monte Alto
Chalchuapa
EL SALVADOR
San Salvador
SOUTHERN PACIFIC COAST AND HIGHLANDS

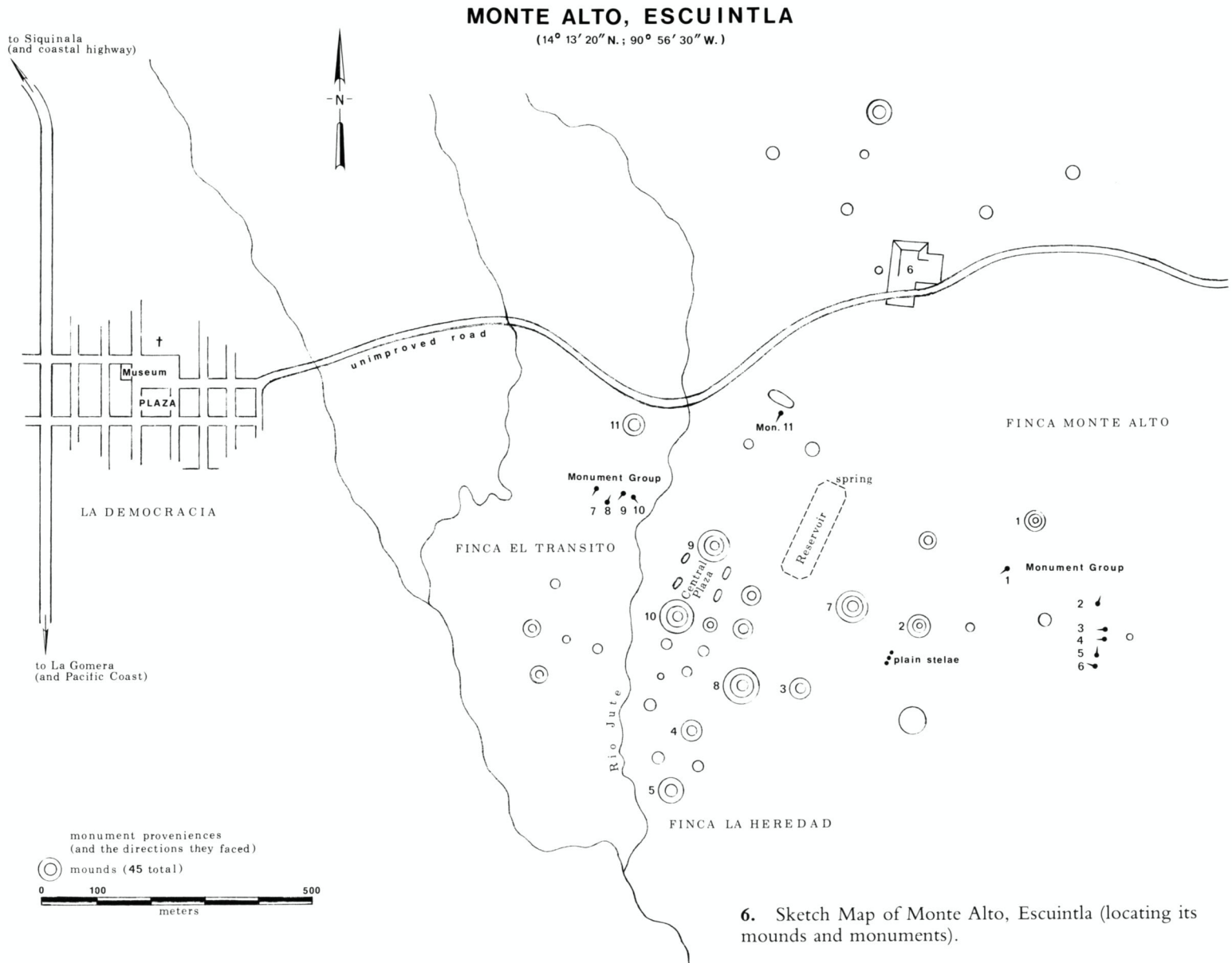


4. Sketch Map of Kaminaljuyu (locating its major mounds, monuments, and ball courts).

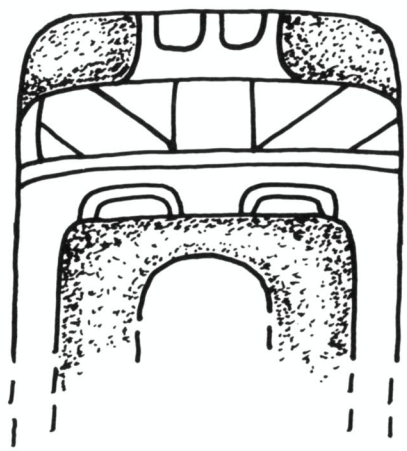

B-III-5
BALL COURT G
(& Mon. 32)
Mon. 11
EXTINCT LAKE
(Stela 9;
Peds. 1 & 2)
C-III-6
C-III-7
C-III-9
D-III-10
D-III-1
("mud" reliefs)
Mon. 56
BALL COURT
C-III-10
Stelae 10 & 11
C-IV-7
C-IV-8
Stela 3
Mon. 10
Stela 2
C-IV-9
Altars 9 & 10
Mons. 51-54
C-IV-10
D-IV-2
D-IV-10
ravines
B-IV-1
Mons. 6 & 7
Sil. 1
C-IV-4
A-V-8
B-IV-2
BALL COURT H
C-IV-3
D-IV-5
D-IV-6
BALL COURT D
Altar 5
C-V-13
B-V-6
A-V-6
D-V-1
C-V-9
B-V-11
B-V-4
B-V-3
E-V-2
BALL COURT E
F-V-1
BALL COURT F
(Mons. 26, 28 & 37)
C-VI-1
D-V-3
F-VI-1
Mound A
(Stela 7
Sil. 6)
Altar 4
F-VI-2
Mound B
(Altar 2
Stela 6
Mon. 38)
Mon. 12
Mon. 49
BALL COURT
monument proveniences
(Sil. = silhouetted relief; Ped. = pedestal sculpture)
ball courts
major mounds (1/2 total, Carnegie grid system)
0
100
500
meters



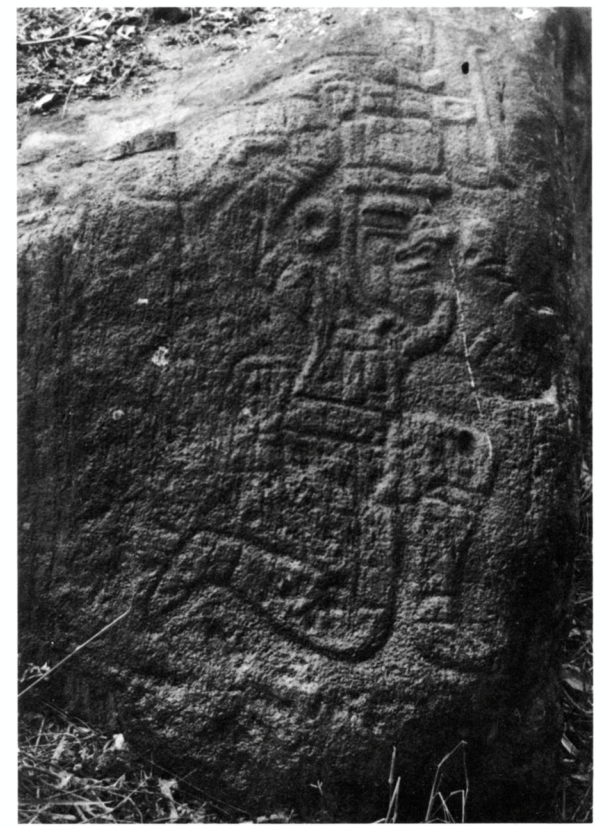
5. Detail of Shrine–Atrium Compound; Lower Plaza, Palangana, Kaminaljuyu (locating excavated monumental stones). (Reconstructed from several drawings in Cheek 1977).



6. Sketch Map of Monte Alto, Escuintla (locating its mounds and monuments).



1



2

3

1. (*upper*) Early Olmec Stela 1, La Venta (detail of upper frame, with abstract feline snout). Drawing by the author, from the original. (*lower*) Terminal Olmec Stela 26, La Venta (detail of scrolled emblem in upper zone). Drawing by the author (after Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: pl. 53). Inked renderings by Ryntha Johnson.

2. Monument (Petroglyph) 1, Abaj Takalik. Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University (the same negative first published by Thompson 1943: 111a).

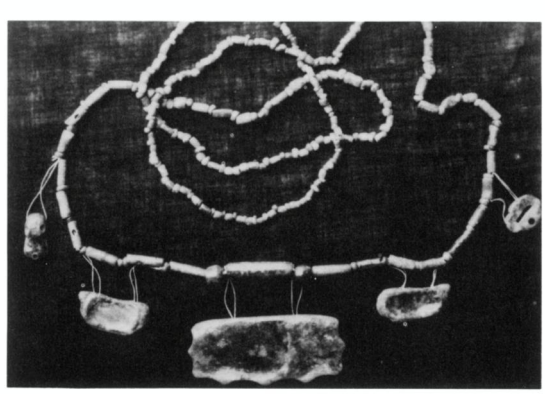
3. Low-relief "Shook Panel," San Antonio, Suchitepequez. Diameter 81 cm. Private Museum, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Nicholas Hellmuth, Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research.

4

5

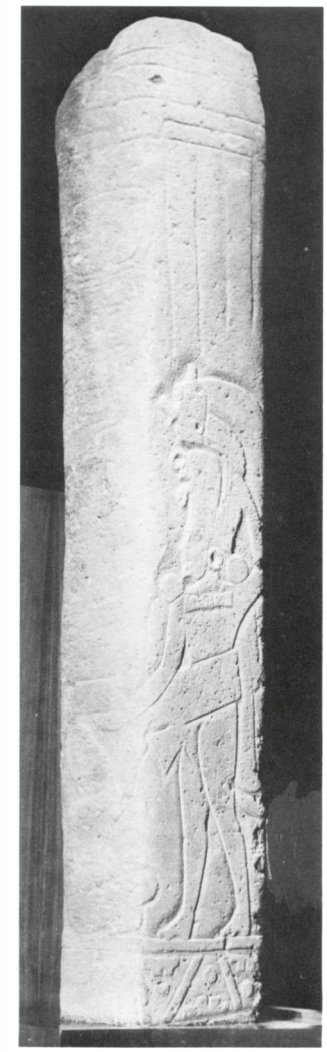
4. Two of the four petroglyphs on one boulder, Las Victorias, El Salvador. Photograph courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. See Boggs 1950 for a complete set of views.

5. Stela 9, Kaminaljuyu, Mound C-III-6. Columnar basalt with early Danzante figure. Height 145 cm, width 22 cm. No. 2359, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawing by Ryntha Johnson (after photographs courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University). See also photograph in Proskouriakoff 1968: fig. 3.



6

7



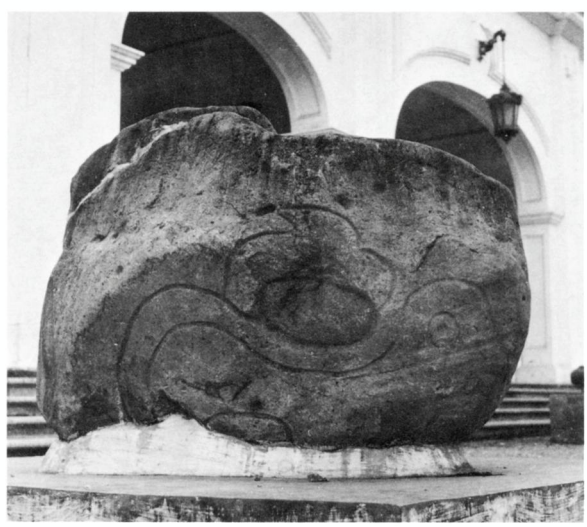
8

6. Jade cache found with Stela 9, Kaminaljuyu, Mound C-III-6. (*upper*) Two views of figurine. Height 12.6 cm. (*lower*) Beaded necklace with "duckbill" and "spoon-shaped" pendants. Length of largest, 8.7 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

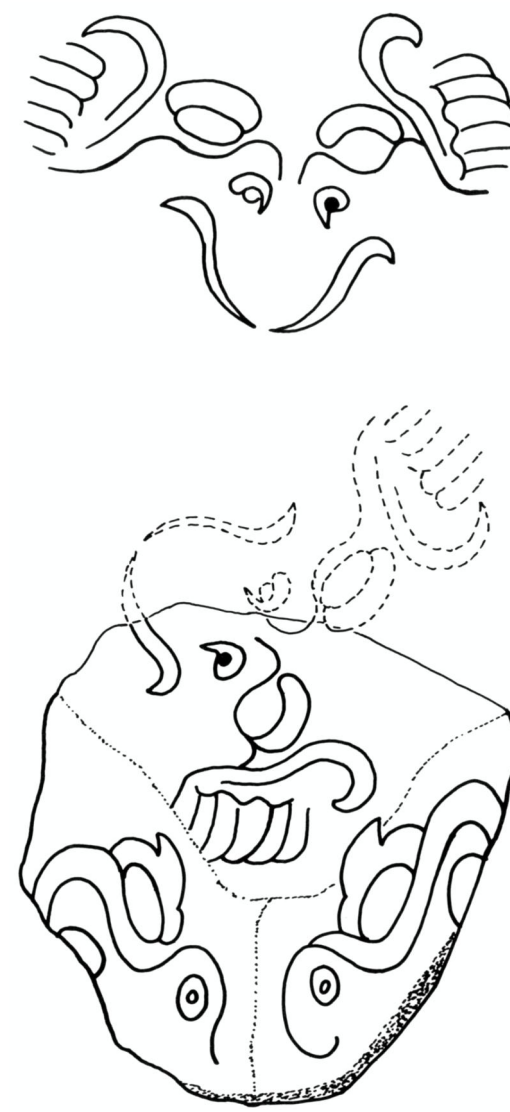
7. Danzante figures, Monte Alban, Oaxaca. (*upper*) "Tumbling" figure, height 61 cm (*lower*) "Swimming" figure, length 173 cm. Drawings by Ryntha Johnson (after Scott 1978: figs. S-10, D-21; Covarrubias 1957: fig. 61).

8. Columnar basalt stela from Alvarado, Veracruz (note hieroglyphic column on left side). Height 360 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

9



10



11

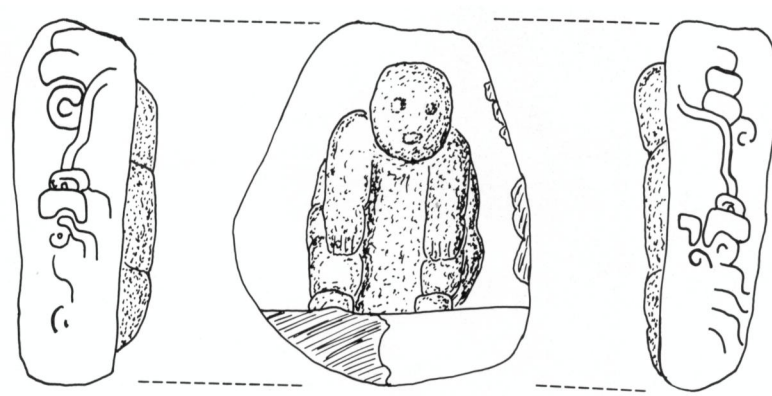
9. Stela 3, Kaminaljuyu, Mound C-IV-9. Grooved ring-tail fish (detail, upper third of stone). Total height 128 cm, width 58 cm, depth 23 cm. No. 2066, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

10. Monument 6, Abaj Takalik. Groove-incised boulder. Height 110 cm, length 130 cm, width 90 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

11. Monument 6, Abaj Takalik. Serpent-bird images. Composite drawing by the author from the original. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson. (Note: projected dotted lines overlap back of boulder; upper inset is rotated image of that complete serpent bird.)

12

13



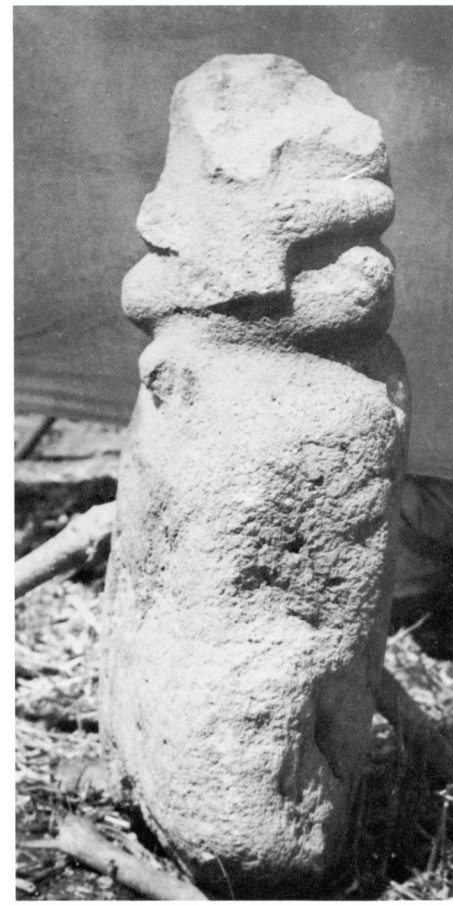
14

12. Boulder relief from Tiltepec, Chiapas, with framed, puffy faces. Height 110 cm. Photograph by the author (taken at the regional museum in Tuxtla Gutierrez).

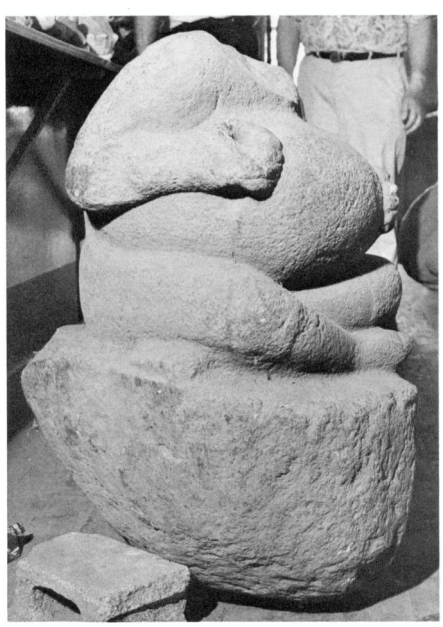
13. Monument 2, Izapa. Niche figure in monster jaws (in situ, front and side views). Height 235 cm, width 175 cm, depth 60 cm. Photographs by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

14. Monument 2, Los Cerritos-South, Escuintla. Niche figure (note the carved side images). Height 80 cm. Drawing by the author (after color slides, courtesy of Frederick Bove). Inked rendering by Rynthia Johnson.

15



16

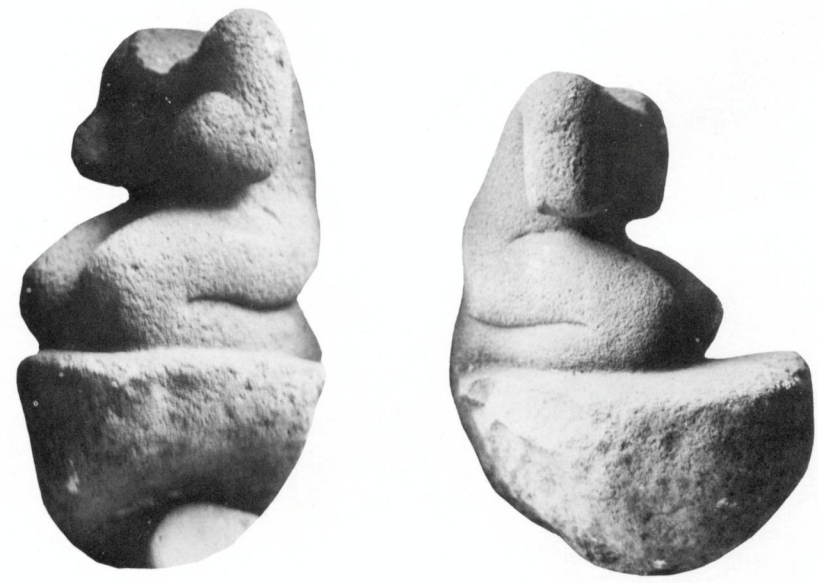


17

15. Monument 1, Sin Cabezas, Escuintla. Naturalistic seated human figure with massive base support. Total height 105 cm, figure height 35 cm. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

16. Monument 2, Sin Cabezas, Escuintla. Seated figure holding damaged object in its lap, on tall boulder base. Total height 100 cm, figure height 30 cm. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

17. Monument 3, Sin Cabezas, Escuintla. Seated figure with distended belly, on heavy conical base. Total height 78 cm, figure height 46 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.



18

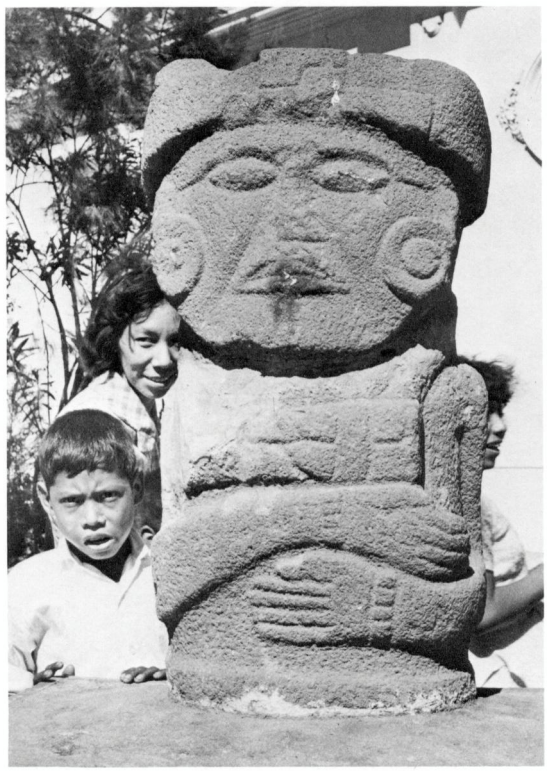
19

20

18. Pair of "sin cabezas" sculptures from Suchitepequez (west of Tiquisate). Naturalistic kneeling figures on expanded conical supports. Total heights c. 68 cm, figure heights c. 38 cm. Jorge Castillo collection, Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Photographs by the author.

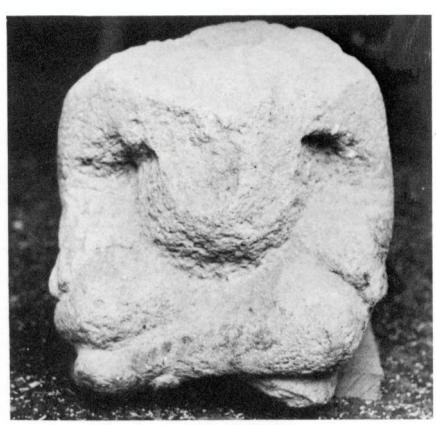
19. Seated, helmeted figure on short round base. Provenience unknown. Total height c. 50 cm. Private collection, Antigua, Guatemala. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

20. Monument 3, Los Cerritos-South, Escuintla. Small, potbelly-type sculpture on expanded conical support. Height 80 cm. Photograph by Frederick Bove.



21

22



23

24

21. Human effigy with wrap-around arms, on conical support (base buried in concrete platform). Palo Gordo, Suchitepequez. Height c. 90 cm. No. 6407, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

22. Full-round rampant jaguar. Izapa or Tuxtla Chico, Chiapas. Height 102 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

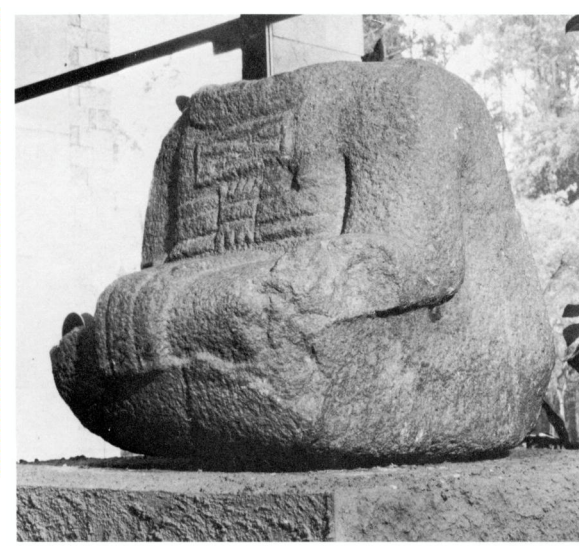
23. Monument 59, Kaminaljuyu. Naturalistic, headless, seated figure, without base support. Height 26 cm. Private collection, Antigua, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

24. Monument 50, Kaminaljuyu. Anthropomorphic bat (?) over human torso. Height 44 cm, width 38 cm. No. 4235, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

26

27

25



28

25. Monument F, Tres Zapotes. Horizontally tenoned, puffy-faced sculpture. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

26. Monument 62, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. Headless seated figure, with face on torso. Height 69 cm, width 74 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of the Pennsylvania State University.

27. Monument 62, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author (from the original). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

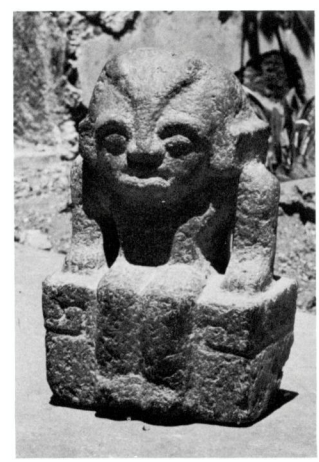
28. Headless seated figure, Chalcatzingo, Morelos. Height c. 60 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

29

30

31

32



33

34

29. Seated anthropomorphic jaguar (front and side views). Patzun, Chimaltenango, Guatemala. Height 64 cm. Schaeffer collection, Guatemala. Photographs by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

30. Monument 86, Bilbao, Escuintla. Rampant jaguar. Height c. 50 cm. Photograph courtesy of Alain Ichon.

31. Bench figure. Villa Flores, Chiapas. Height 17.5 cm. Photograph by Charles Uht, courtesy of the Museum of Primitive Art.

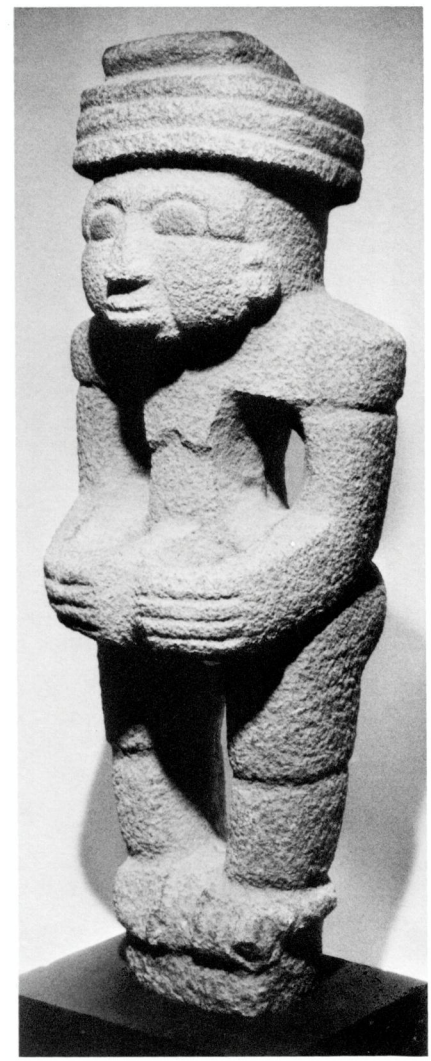
32. Bench figure. Villa Nueva, Valley of Guatemala. Height 26.5 cm. No. 3488, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Joya Hairs.

33. Bench figure. Height 23 cm. Private collection, Antigua, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

34. Bench figure. El Salvador. Height 20.5 cm. No. IV ca 41066, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (former Walter Lehmann collection). Photograph by the author.

35

36

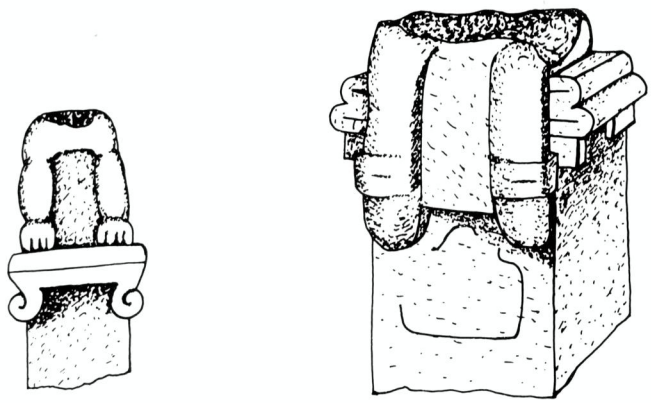


37

35. Pedestal sculpture 4, Kaminaljuyu. ("Peg" base does not show in photograph.) Height 56 cm, width 18 cm, depth 16 cm. No. 2053, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

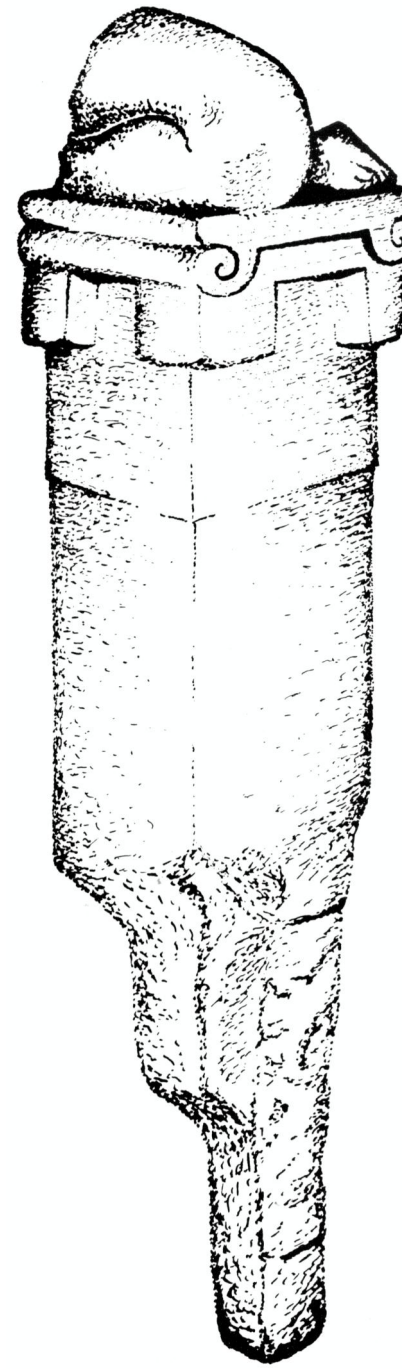
36. Peg-based pedestal sculpture from the Antigua Valley, Guatemala. Height 63 cm. No. IV ca 30088, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (former Eduard Seler collection). Photograph by the author.

37. Peg-based pedestal sculpture from Tecpan or Patzun, Chimaltenango. Height 60 cm. Schwartz collection, Detroit, Michigan. Photograph courtesy of the collector.



38

40

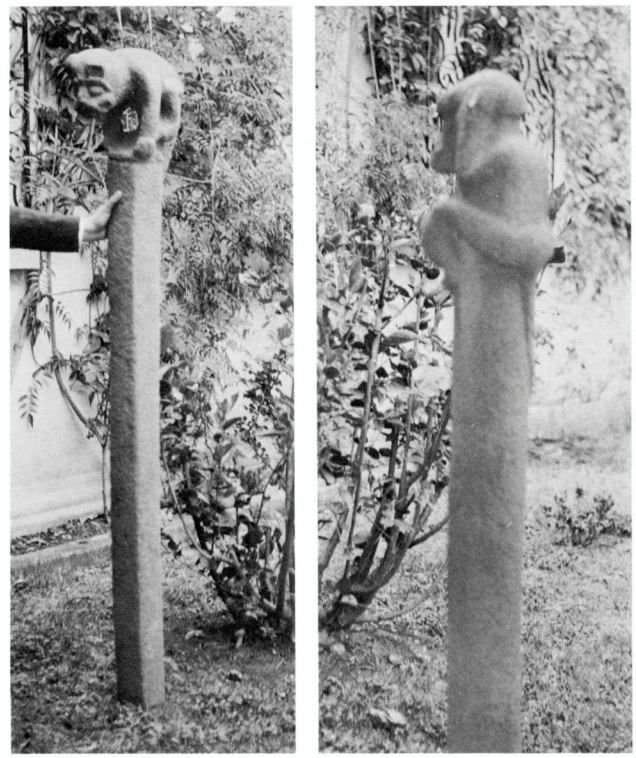


39

38. Fragmentary vertical pedestal sculptures 3 (*left*) and 7 (*right*), Kaminaljuyu; Mound E-III-3 and Acropolis C-II-4, respectively. Sculpture 3: height 33 cm, width 17 cm, depth 11 cm. Sculpture 7: height 82 cm, width 37 cm, depth 38 cm. Drawings by the author (after photographs by Richard M. Rose). Inked renderings by Ryntha Johnson.

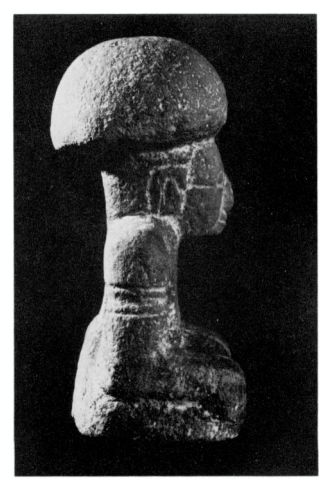
40. Vertical pedestal sculpture, El Porton, Baja Verapaz. Figure height 67 cm. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook.

39. Broken vertical pedestal sculpture 6, Kaminaljuyu; north of C-II-4 Acropolis. Height 132 cm, width 25 cm, depth 18 cm. Drawing by Ryntha Johnson (after photographs by Richard M. Rose).



41

42



43

44

41. Two tall vertical pedestal sculptures from Tecpan, Chimaltenango. Total heights nearly 300 cm (bottom of pedestals buried in the ground). Nottebohm collection, Guatemala. Photographs by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

42. Mushroom stone, with monkey on four-legged bench. Height 30 cm. Private collection, Antigua, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

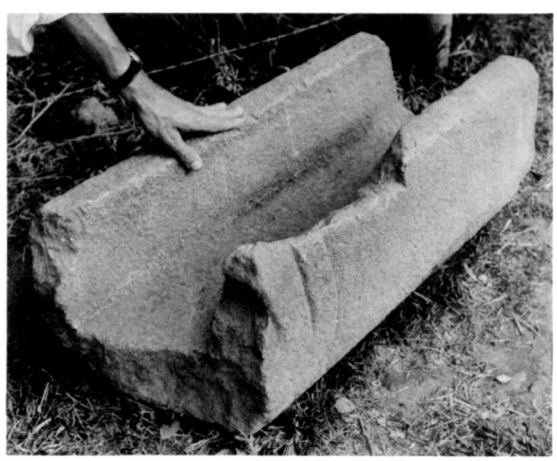
43. Mushroom stone from Kaminaljuyu. Height 33 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

44. Mushroom stone from Patzun, Chimaltenango. Height 32.5 cm. Nottebohm collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

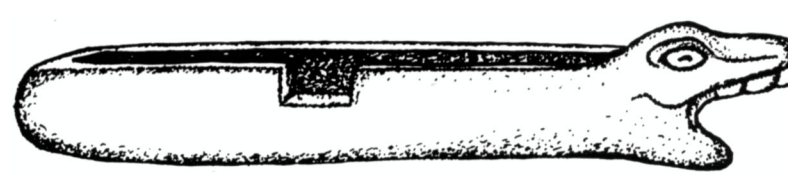
45

46

47



48



49

45. Carved stone ball with face panel. Santa Clara, Department of Santa Rosa. Diameter 39 cm. Mata Amado collection, Guatemala. Drawing by the author (after photograph by Richard M. Rose). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

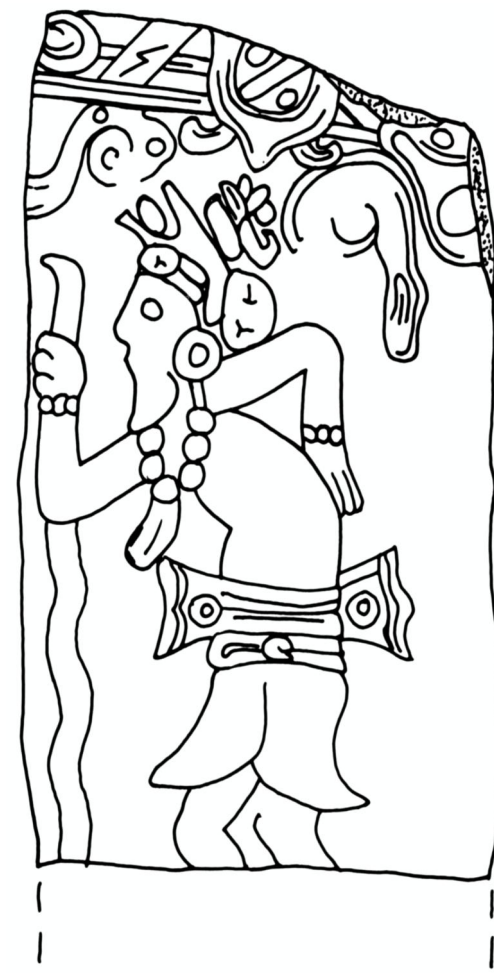
46. Funerary mask, green and white steatite. Monte Alto, Escuintla, Mound 6. Height and width 18.5 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author.

47. Stone mask. Recorded provenience, Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa, Escuintla. Height 11 cm. No. 7757, Pigorini Museum, Rome (collected c. 1890). Photograph courtesy of the museum.

48. Monument 45, Kaminaljuyu, Mound C-III-2 vicinity (?). U-shaped drain trough. Length 82 cm, height 30 cm, width 36 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

49. Monument 47, Kaminaljuyu. "Gargoyle" drain trough. Length 107 cm. No. 6370, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawing by the author from the original. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

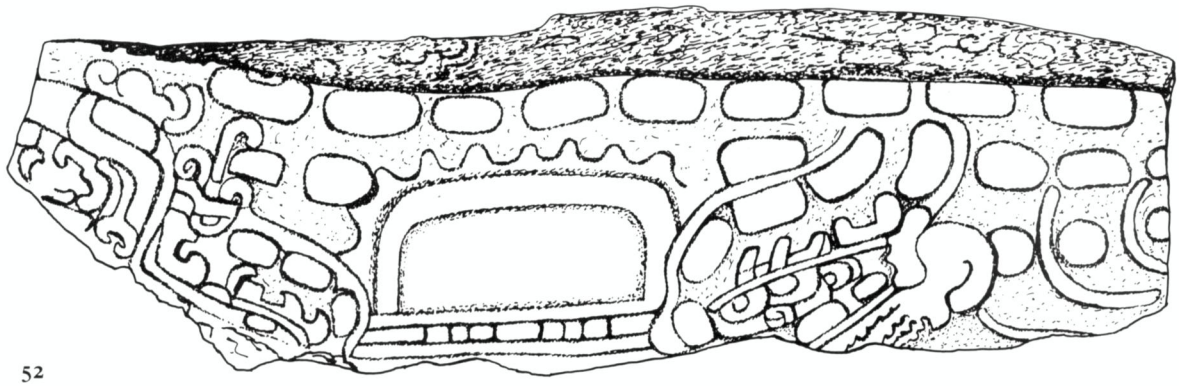
50



51

50. Stela 17, Kaminaljuyu. Old-man "Danzante," with celestial band. Height 116 cm, width 62 cm, depth 36 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

51. Stela 17, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.



52

53

54

52. Monument 2, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. Profile monster on two sides of a columnar basalt. Length 264 cm, width 96 cm, depth 45 cm. No. 2042, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawing of left profile by the author (after his photographs). Inked rendering by Rynthia Johnson.

53. Stela 5, Kaminaljuyu. Fat human face surrounded by profile dragon heads. Height 153 cm, width 80 cm, depth 30 cm. No. 2044, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

54. Miniature Stela 16, Kaminaljuyu. Standing human figure facing trophy head. Total height 70 cm. Height of carved area 46 cm, width 28 cm, depth 5.5 cm. Private collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

55

56

55. Stela 19, Kaminaljuyu. Wall panel with anthropomorphic demon grasping serpent. Height 109 cm, width 105 cm, depth 8 cm. Joya Hairs collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

56. Stela 4, Kaminaljuyu. Incomplete wall panel analogous to Stela 19. Height 86 cm, width 88 cm, depth 8 cm. No. 2050 (3124 ?), Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

57

58

59

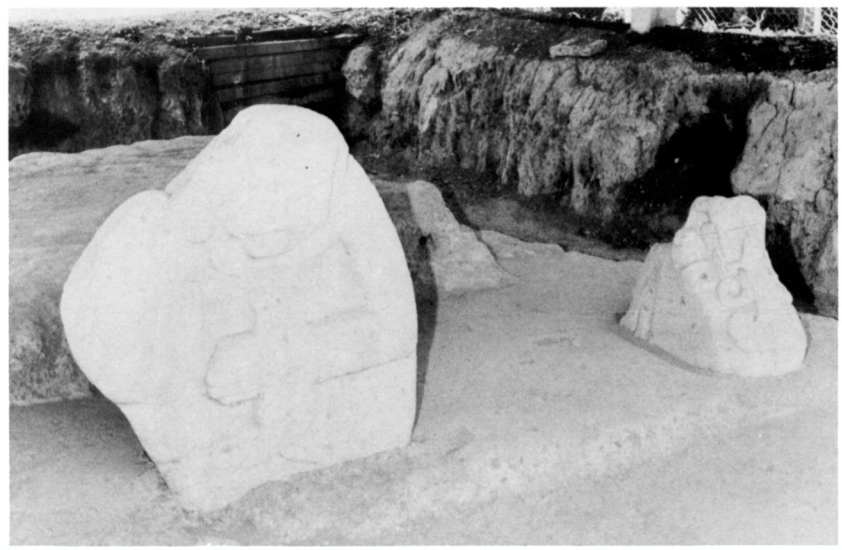
60

57. Monument 1, Kaminaljuyu; south edge of Palangana complex. Serpent-head fragment on expanded rectangular base (detail of left profile). Present total height 75 cm (carving height 35 cm), width 46 cm, depth 20 cm. No. 2068, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

58. Silhouetted relief sculpture. Found near Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa, Escuintla. Height 91.5 cm. No. 15/5710, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York. Photograph courtesy of the museum.

59. Seated human figure. Solano, Valley of Guatemala. Height c. 90 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Pennsylvania State University.

60. Monument 60, Kaminaljuyu. Seated human figure. Height 57 cm, width 45 cm, depth 30 cm. Private collection, Antigua, Guatemala. Drawing by Rynthia Johnson (after photograph by Edwin M. Shook).



61

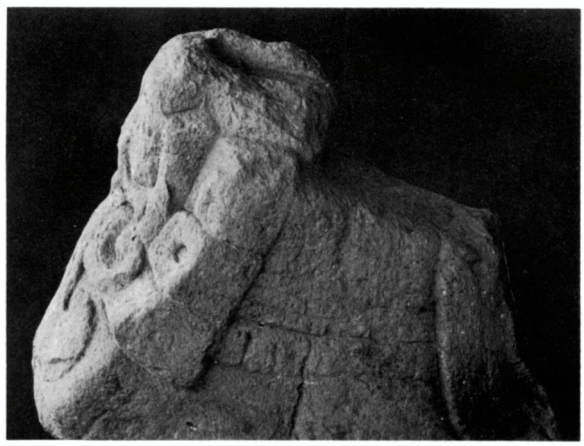
62

63

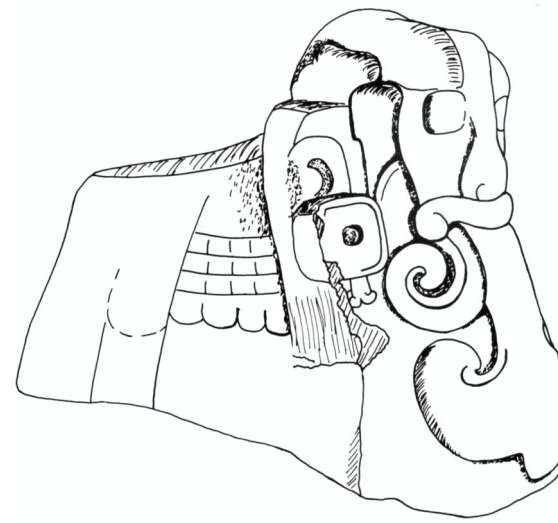
61. Monuments 42 and 43, Kaminaljuyu; in situ, on platform north of Mound C-III-2. Photograph by Harold G. Russell.

62. Monument 42, Kaminaljuyu; in situ, platform north of Mound C-III-2. Profile-headed anthropomorphic monster. Height 130 cm, width 124 cm, depth 50 cm. Photograph by Harold G. Russell.

63. Monument 42, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author, from the original and photographs. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.



64



65

66

67

64. Monument 43, Kaminaljuyu; in situ, platform north of Mound C-III-2. Full-round feline demon. Height 72 cm, width 48 cm, length 90 cm. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

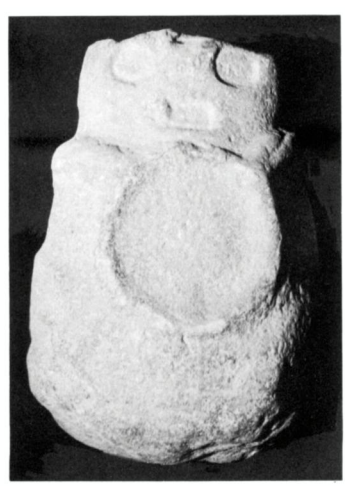
65. Monument 43, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author from the original and photographs. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

66. Monument 44, Kaminaljuyu; platform north of Mound C-III-2 (?). Fragment of bulky, full-round sculpture. Height 50 cm, width 62 cm. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

67. Altar 12, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. Zoomorphic dragon. Length 150 cm, width 106 cm, depth 50 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

68

69



71

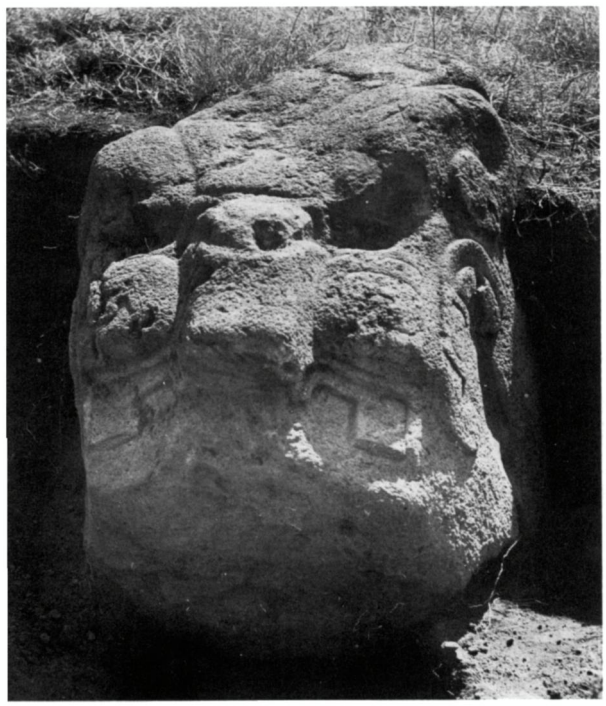
70

68. Monument 5, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. Feline-headed boulder sculpture. Height 100 cm, width 68 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala (Aurora Park Zoo). Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

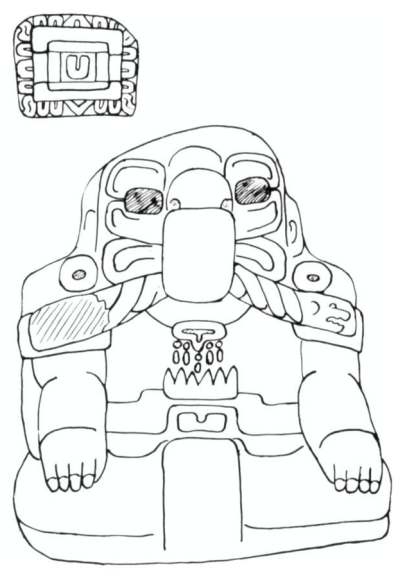
69. Monument 15, Kaminaljuyu (side view). "Turret-headed" boulder sculpture. Height 90 cm, width 80 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

70. Monument 11, Kaminaljuyu (rear view). Headless mate to Monument 15. Height 70 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala (Aurora Park Zoo). Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

71. Monument 9, Kaminaljuyu. Small boulder sculpture with disk. Height 73 cm, diameter 45 cm. No. 2058, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.



73

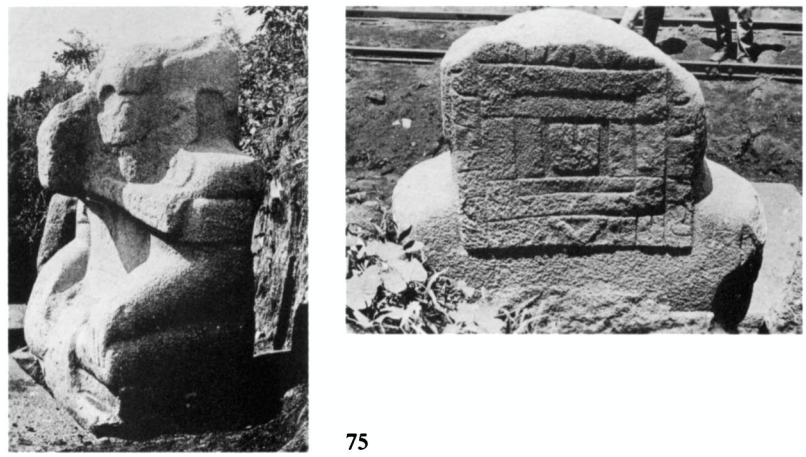


74

72. Monument 3, Monte Alto, Escuintla. Feline-masked boulder head. Height 153 cm, width 85 cm, depth 150 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

73. Monument 2, Cerro de las Mesas, Veracruz. Feline-masked head. Height c. 175 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

74. *Piedra santa,* Palo Gordo, Suchitepequez. Seated anthropomorphic monster, carved in granite. (Inset, upper left, is the 70 cm-square shield emblem on the back of the head.) Height 155 cm, width 123 cm, depth 70 cm. Drawing by the author (after photographs by Robert Burkitt, and the original monument).



75

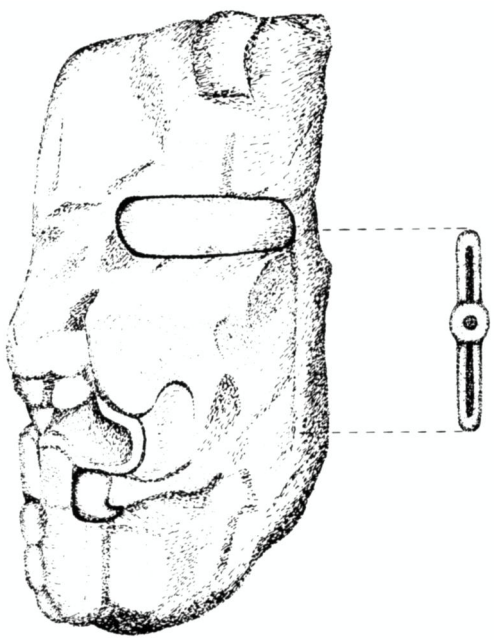
76

77

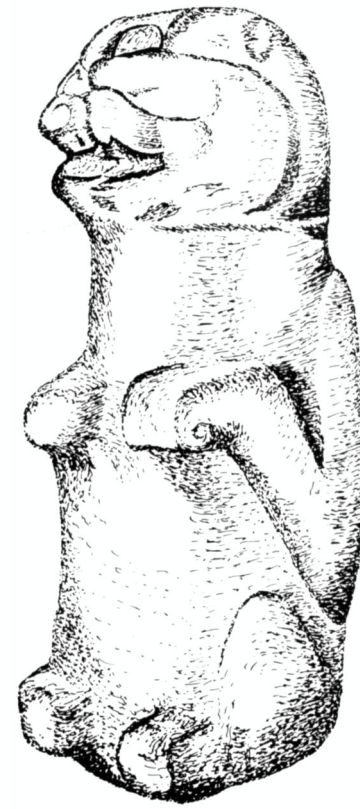
75. (*left*) Side view of the *piedra santa,* Palo Gordo. (*right*) View of the shield emblem on the flattened back of the head. Photographs by Robert Burkitt (c. 1929), courtesy of The University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia.

76. La Flora, Escuintla. Full-round anthropomorphic sculpture. Height 140 cm. Photograph by Francis B. Richardson (1938), courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

77. La Flora, Escuintla. Feline monster with cylindrical torso (upper portion). Dimensions unknown. Photograph by Francis B. Richardson (1938), courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.



78



79

80

78. Monument 5, Santa Clara, Santa Rosa. Feline head (inset, to the right, shows the ear form, extant only on the opposite side of the head). Height 78 cm, width 45 cm, depth 42 cm. Drawing by Ryntha Johnson (after photographs by the author).

79. Rampant jaguar. Finca Hamburgo, Suchitepequez. Height 125 cm, width 60 cm. Drawing by Ryntha Johnson (after photograph by the author).

80. Altar 1, Izapa. Zoomorphic feline-toad. Length 130 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

81

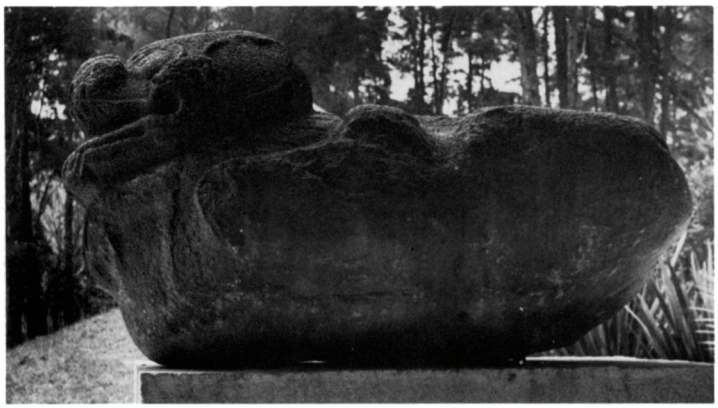
82

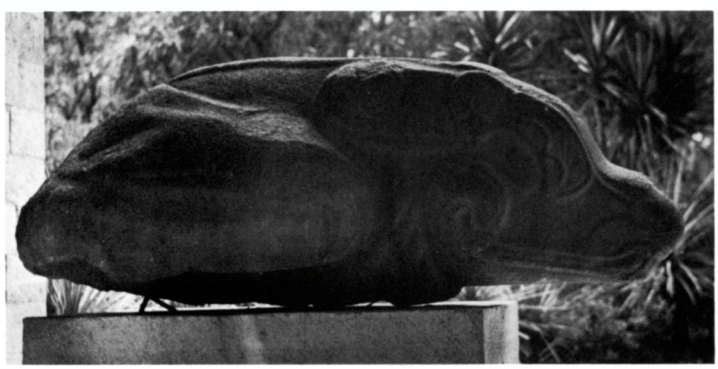
83

81. Altar 2, Izapa. Toad zoomorph (found in front of Stela 3). Length 145 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

82. Altar 2, Abaj Takalik. Reptile with basin (and another small sculpture displayed on its head). Length 155 cm. Photograph courtesy of Alain Ichon.

83. Feline-toad boulder sculpture. Sabana Grande, Escuintla. Height (including the buried base) 180 cm, width 100 cm, depth 130 cm. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook (1949), courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

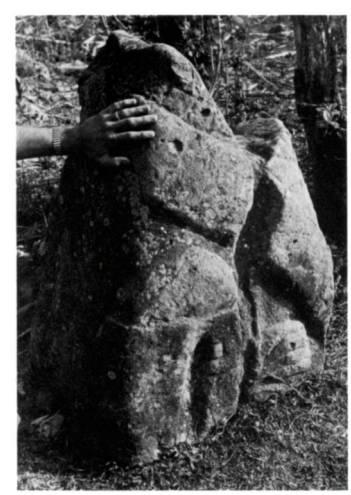




84

85

86



87

84. Two zoomorphic "altars." Gulf Coast, Veracruz. Lengths c. 150 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico. Photographs by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

85. Monument from near Tututepec, coastal Oaxaca. Height 225 cm. Photograph by Teobert Maler (1874), courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

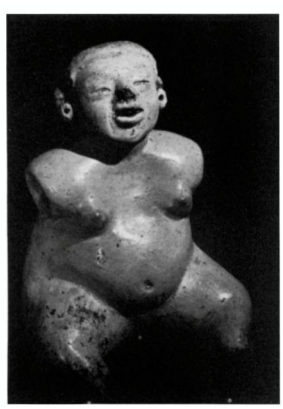
86. Headless crouching jaguar sculpture (rear view). Piedra Labrada, near Ometepec, Guerrero. Height c. 75 cm. Photograph courtesy of Louisa Stark and Jane Rosenthal.

87. Headless crouching jaguar. Copan, Honduras (fill, near Stela 5). Height c. 90 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

88

89

90



91

92

88. Crouching jaguar sculpture. Copan, Honduras. Height c. 60 cm. Regional Museum, Copan. Photograph by Francis B. Richardson (c. 1938), courtesy of the photographer.

89. Headless potbelly sculpture. Copan, Honduras (foundation of Stela 4). Height c. 80 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

90. Potbelly sculpture (side view). Tikal, Guatemala. Height c. 70 cm. Photograph courtesy of Nicholas Hellmuth, Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research.

91. "*Muñeca* Kidder." White-slipped, hollow, jointed figurine. Kaminaljuyu, Providencia Phase. Height 23 cm. (Presented to the Museo Nacional, Guatemala [No. 4469] by S. W. Miles and Joya Hairs, in memory of A. V. Kidder.) Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

92. Three small potbelly sculptures. Finca Solola, near Tiquisate, Escuintla. Average height c. 60 cm. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

93

94

95

96

93. Monument 4, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. Potbelly sculpture. Height 118 cm, width 65 cm, depth 58 cm. No. 2073, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

94. Monument 3, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. Potbelly sculpture. Height 110 cm, width 70 cm, depth 55 cm. No. 2075, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

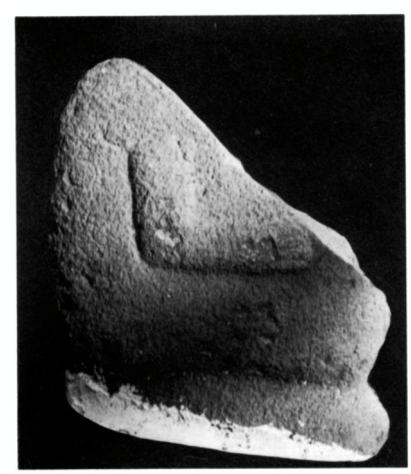
95. Monument 8, Kaminaljuyu. Potbelly sculpture. Height 105 cm, diameter 75 cm. Presently at the Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

96. Monument 6, Kaminaljuyu; former gatepost to Finca Arevalo. Potbelly sculpture. Height 105 cm, width 60 cm, depth 50 cm. No. 2064, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

97

98

99



100

97. Monument 40, Kaminaljuyu. Potbelly sculpture. Height 55 cm. No. 3138, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

98. Monument 7, Kaminaljuyu; former gatepost to Finca Arevalo. Potbelly sculpture. Height 76 cm, diameter 65 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala (Aurora Park Zoo). Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

99. Monument 41, Kaminaljuyu, Mound C-III-1. Potbelly sculpture. Height 65 cm, width 60 cm, depth 65 cm. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

100. Monument 39, Kaminaljuyu. Potbelly sculpture. Present height c. 50 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala (Aurora Park Zoo). Photograph by the author, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

101

102

103

104

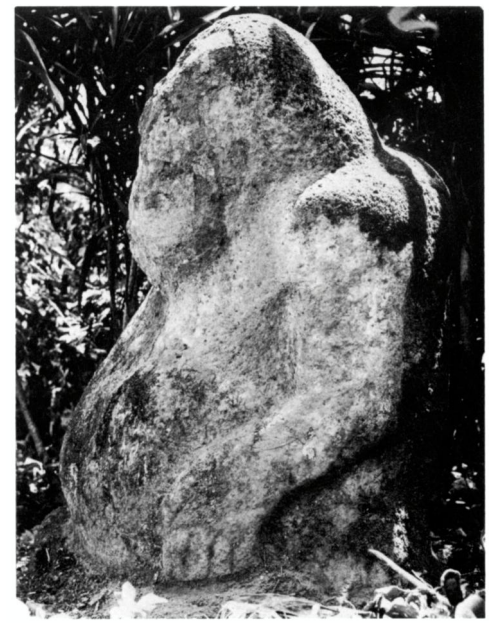
101. Monument 38, Kaminaljuyu, Mound F-VI-2 (above Tomb B-1). Head from potbelly sculpture. Height 24 cm. No. 2141, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

102. Monuments 57 and 58, Kaminaljuyu. Pair of miniature potbelly sculptures. Heights 37 and 38 cm. Jorge Castillo collection, Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

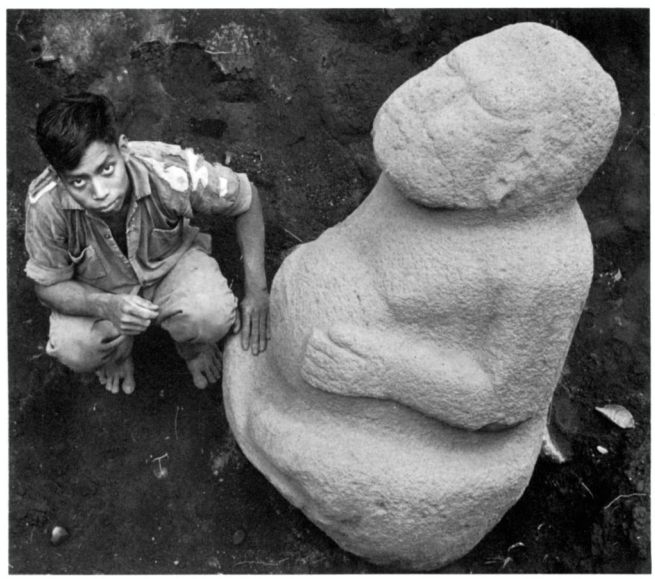
103. Potbelly sculpture. San Juan Sacatepequez. Height 45 cm. Lic. W. O. Schaeffer collection, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from Lehmann 1968: no. 200).

104. Potbelly sculpture. Santa Cruz Quiche, Guatemala. Height 114 cm. No. 30/76, American Museum of Natural History, New York. Photograph courtesy of the museum.

105



106



107

108

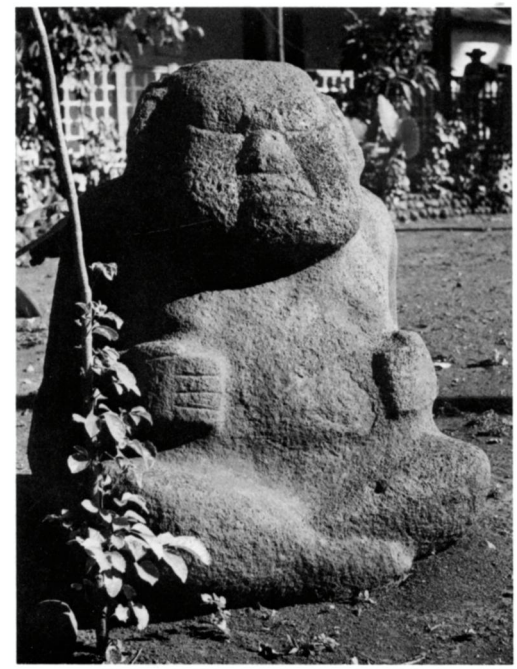
105. Potbelly sculpture. Tonala-Tapanatepec zone, Chiapas. Height 68 cm, diameter 58 cm. No. 24-1249/46719, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

106. Monument 2, Abaj Takalik. Potbelly sculpture. Height 163 cm. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

107. Monument 58, Bilbao, Escuintla. Potbelly sculpture. Height 132 cm, width 80 cm. Ricardo Muñoz collection, Finca Las Ilusiones, Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

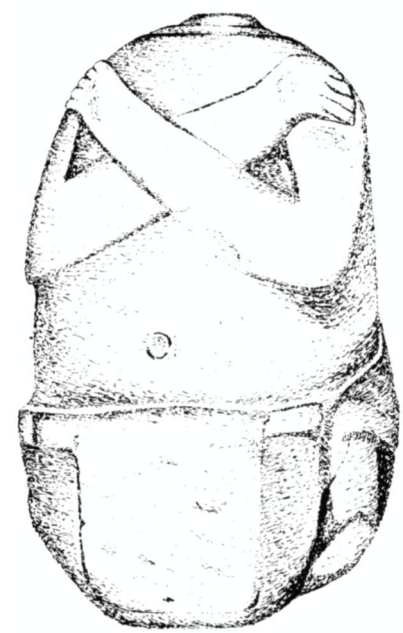
108. Monument 47, Bilbao, Escuintla. Potbelly sculpture. Height 110 cm, width 90 cm. No. IV ca 7197, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. Photograph courtesy of the museum.

109



110

111



112

109. Potbelly sculpture. La Concepcion, Escuintla. Height c. 90 cm. No. 38.60.1, Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Photograph courtesy of the museum.

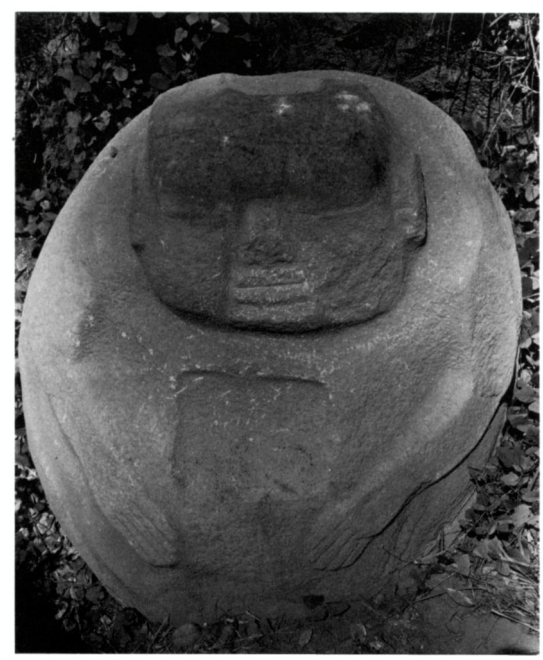
110. Potbelly sculpture. Obero, Escuintla. Height 104 cm. Photograph courtesy of Michael D. Coe.

111. Monument 1, La Nueva, Jutiapa. Potbelly sculpture. Height 100 cm. No. 2020, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

112. Decapitated potbelly sculpture. El Baul, Escuintla. Height 123 cm, width 65 cm, depth 70 cm. Drawing by Rynthia Johnson (after photographs by the author).

113

114



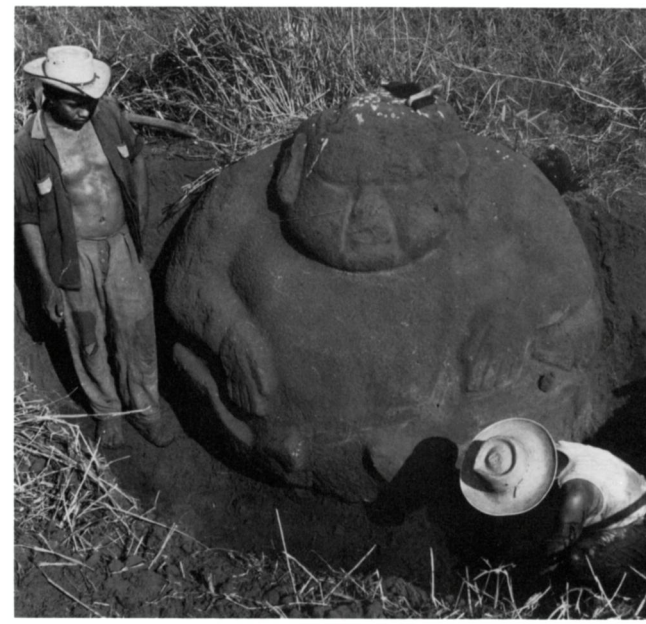
115

113. Monuments 1, 2, and 3 (left to right), Santa Leticia, El Salvador. Full-figure effigy boulders. Heights 145 cm, 195 cm, and 170 cm; average diameters 150 cm. Photographs courtesy of Stanley H. Boggs.

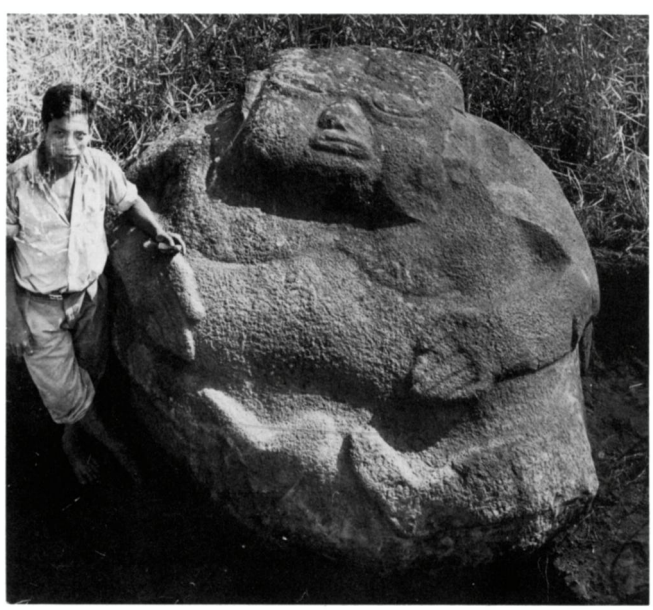
114. Monument 6, Monte Alto, Escuintla. Effigy boulder with collar. Height 122 cm, width 120 cm, depth 125 cm. Photograph by Joya Hairs, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

115. Monument 11, Monte Alto. Effigy boulder with panel. Height 154 cm, width 150 cm, depth 180 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

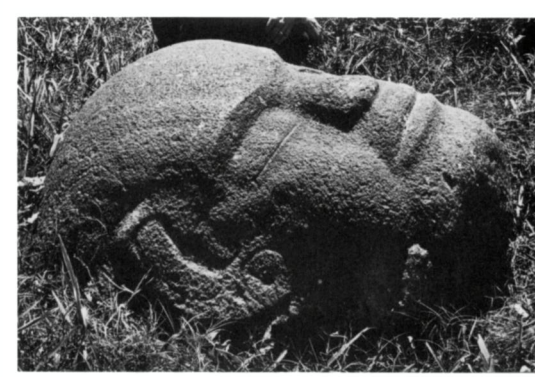
116



117



118



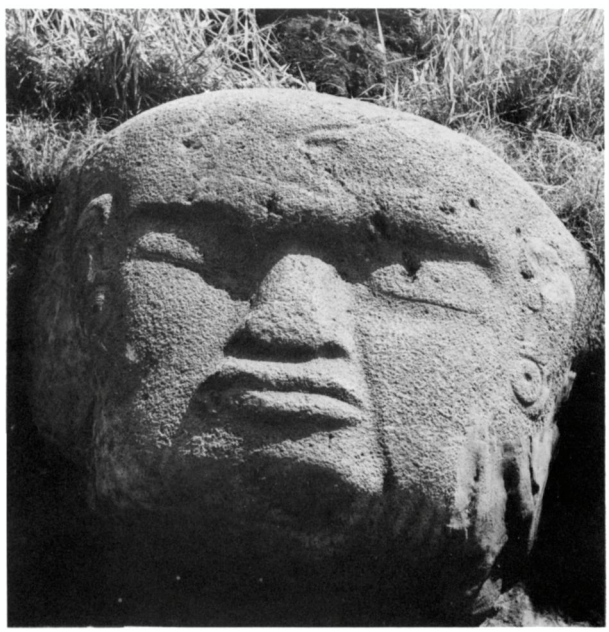
119

116. Monument 9, Monte Alto. Effigy boulder. Height 185 cm, width 130 cm, depth 110 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

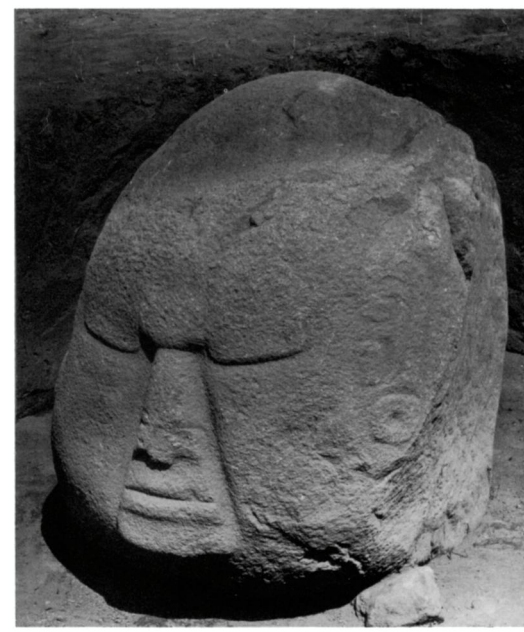
117. Monument 4, Monte Alto. Effigy boulder. Height 157 cm, width 180 cm, depth 170 cm. Photograph by Peter S. Jenson, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

118. Monument 5, Monte Alto. Effigy boulder. Height 138 cm, width 203 cm, depth 202 cm. Photograph by Peter S. Jenson, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

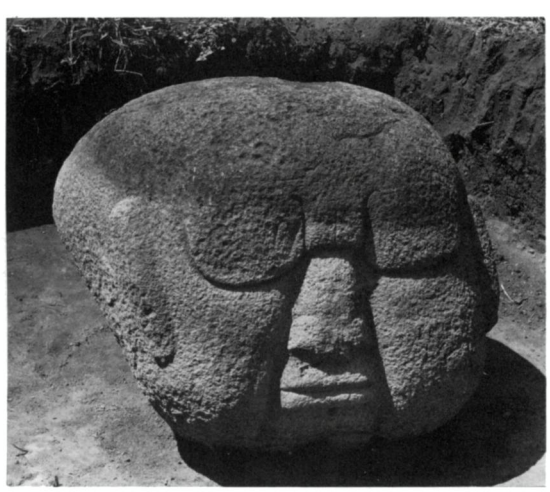
119. Monument 1, Monte Alto. Colossal boulder head. Height 127 cm, width 143 cm, depth 140 cm. Photograph by Peter S. Jenson, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.



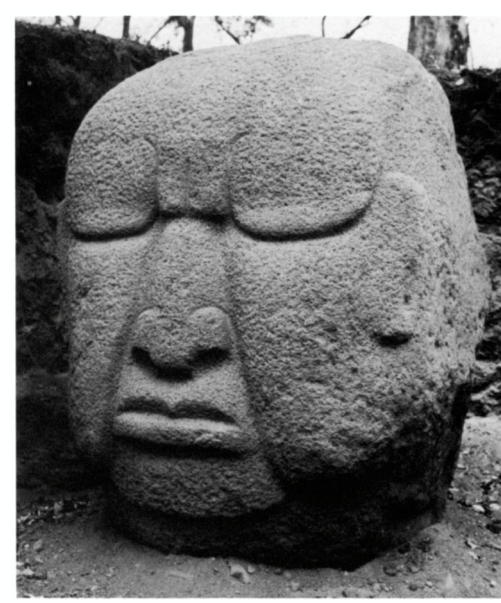
120



121



122



123

120. Monument 2, Monte Alto. Colossal boulder head. Height 147 cm, width 200 cm, depth 180 cm. Photograph by Peter S. Jenson, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

121. Monument 7, Monte Alto. Colossal boulder head. Height 140 cm, width 102 cm, depth 185 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

122. Monument 8, Monte Alto. Boulder head. Height 91 cm, width 165 cm, depth 88 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

123. Monument 10, Monte Alto. Colossal boulder head. Height 145 cm, width 110 cm, depth 130 cm. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook.

124

125

126

125. Monument 16, Kaminaljuyu, Mound D-III-6. Colossal three-pronged incense burner with grotesque head. Height 79 cm, diameter 65 cm. No. 2047, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

124. Monument 49, Kaminaljuyu (250 meters west of Mound A). Grotesque head fragment. Height 43 cm, width 26 cm, depth 13 cm. No. 3095, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

126. Monument 18, Kaminaljuyu, Mound D-III-6. Mate to Monuments 16 and 17. Height 85 cm, diameter 76 cm. No. 2046, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

127

128

127. Monument 17, Kaminaljuyu, Mound D-III-6. Mate to Monuments 16 and 18. Height 102 cm, diameter 80 cm. No. 2045, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Harold G. Russell.

128. Monument 17, Kaminaljuyu (side view). Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

129

130

131

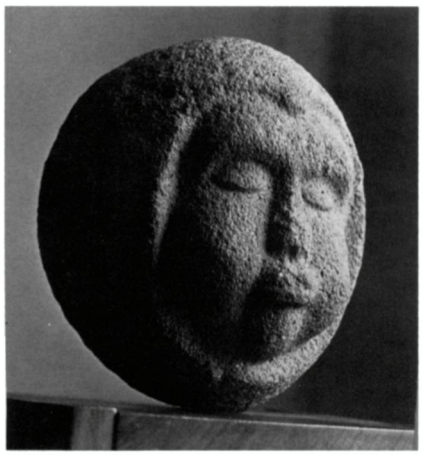
132

129. Altar 5, Kaminaljuyu (between mounds A-V-6 and 8). Toad with basin. Length 105 cm, height 52 cm. No. 8552, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

130. Altar 3, Kaminaljuyu (between mounds D-III-6 and D-III-14). Plain toad. Length 73 cm, width 52 cm, height 23 cm. No. 2372, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

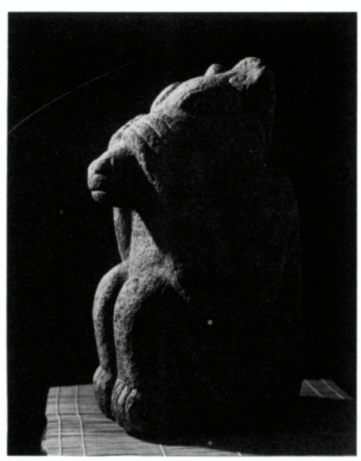
131. Altar 6, Kaminaljuyu. Plain toad. Length 90 cm. No. 8137 (?), Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

132. Altar 7, Kaminaljuyu. Flat toad. Length 67 cm, width 54 cm. Jorge Castillo collection, Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from Lehmann 1968: no. 41).

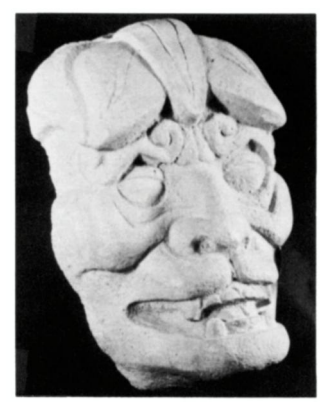


133

134



135



137

136

133. Monument 51, Kaminaljuyu (cache 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8). Stone ball with face. Maximum diameter 35 cm. Joya Hairs collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

134. Monument 52, Kaminaljuyu (cache 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8). "Piggyback" monkey pair. Height 38 cm, width 16.5 cm. Joya Hairs collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

135. Monument 53, Kaminaljuyu (cache 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8). Full-round "pisote." Height 31 cm, width 17 cm. Private collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

136. Monument 54, Kaminaljuyu (cache 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8). Full-round human figure. Height 51 cm, width 24 cm. Private collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

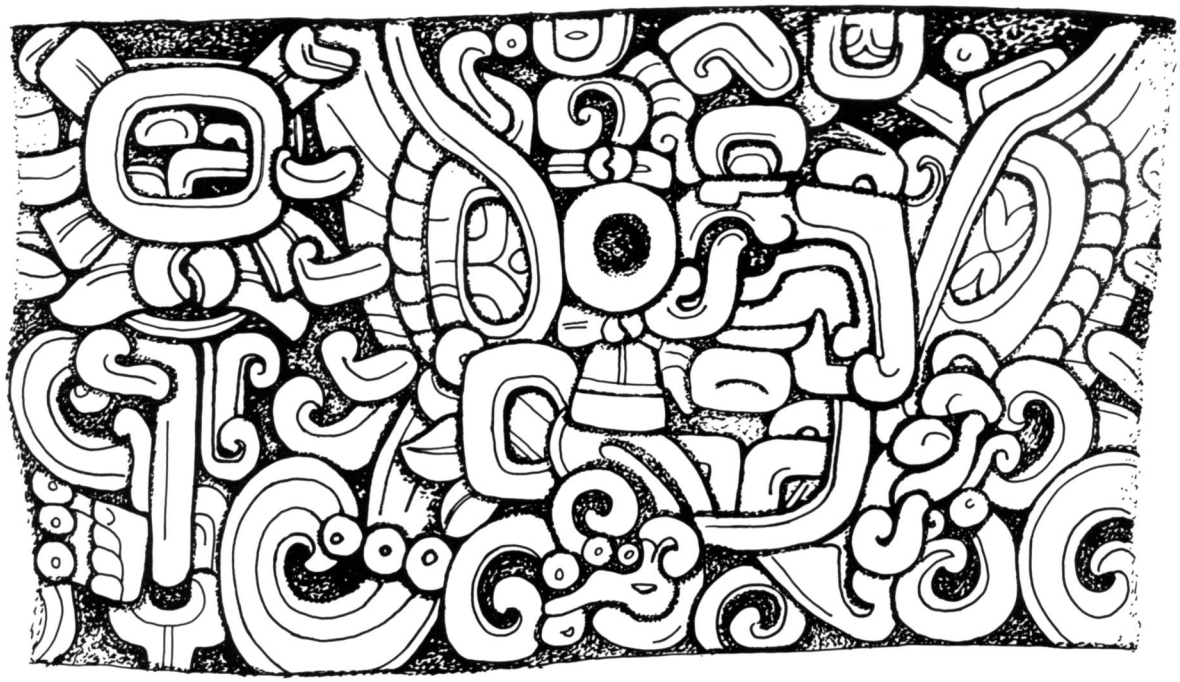
137. Monument 55, Kaminaljuyu. Grotesque mask. Height 40 cm, width 24 cm. Jorge Castillo collection, Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Photograph by Linda Fisk-Jones of a cast in San Diego, courtesy of the San Diego Museum of Man.

138

139

138. Monument 14, El Baul, Escuintla. Rampant jaguar. Height 185 cm. (Note that the circular concrete base and iron clamps are modern.) Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

139. Altars 9 and 10, Kaminaljuyu (cache 200 m west of Mound C-IV-8). Tetrapod and drum-shaped, with complex reliefs around circumferences. (*left*) Altar 9. Total height 59 cm, diameter 26 cm, circumference 78 cm. (Height of cylindrical feet, 6 cm.) No. 6368a, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from Lehmann 1968: no. 37). (*right*) Altar 10. Total height 65 cm, diameter 27 cm, circumference 83 cm. (Height of cylindrical feet, 6 cm.) No. 6368b, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.



140

141

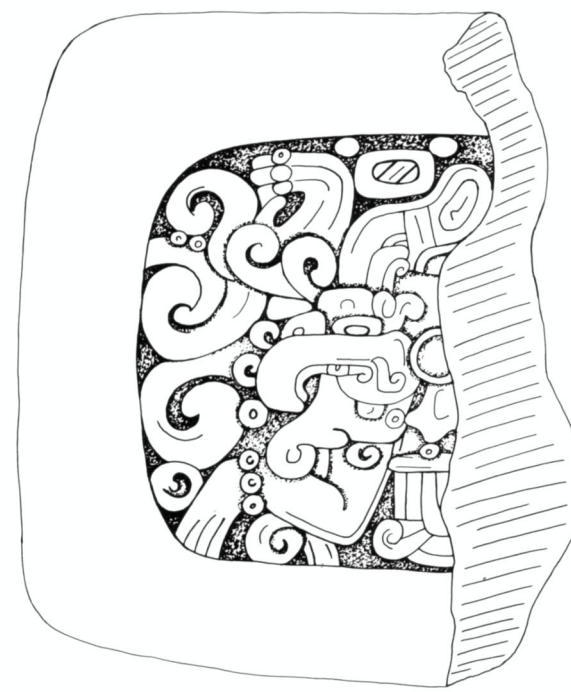
140. Altar 9, Kaminaljuyu. Roll-out drawing. (Note the serpent-winged monster facing right.) Drawing by the author (from eight composite photographs, courtesy of Joya Hairs). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

141. Altar 10, Kaminaljuyu. Roll-out drawing. (Note the serpent-winged monster facing left, and the missing slice of the stone, upper right.) Drawing by the author (from eight composite photographs, courtesy of Joya Hairs). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

142

143

144



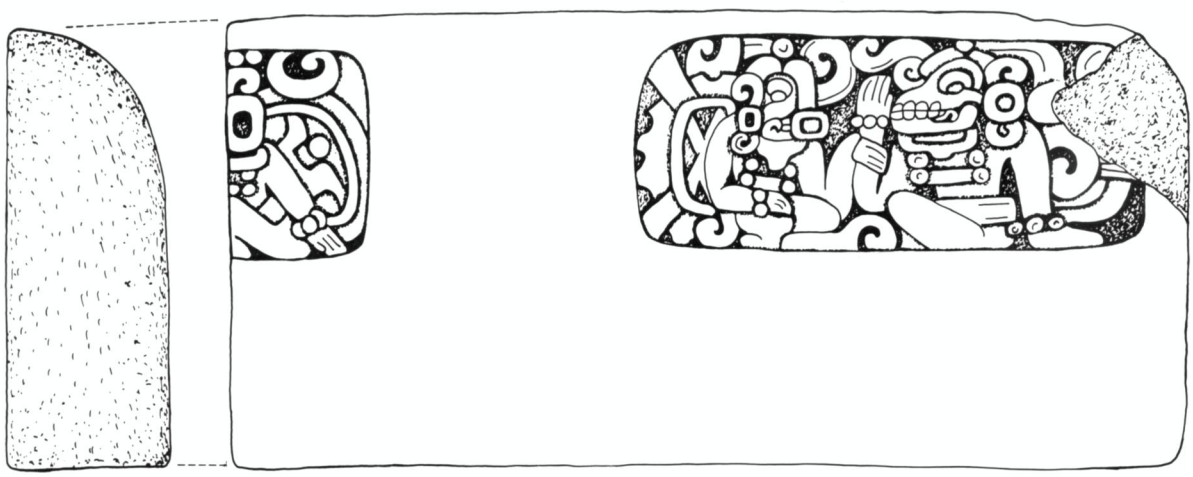
145

142. Altar 8, Kaminaljuyu. Four-legged rectangular fragment. Maximum length 42 cm, width 32 cm, depth 8.7 cm (without leg). Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

143. Stela 20, Kaminaljuyu. Low-relief altarlike fragment. Maximum dimensions 48 × 46.5 cm. Private collection, Guatemala. Photograph by Suzanne W. Miles, courtesy of Joya Hairs.

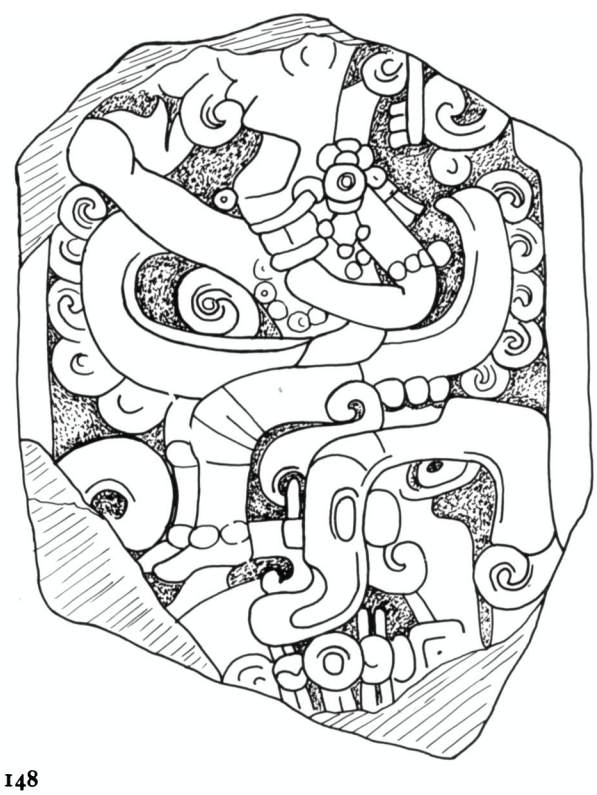
144. Stela 1, Kaminaljuyu (northeast corner of C-II-14 acropolis). Paneled composition with dragon monster. Length 93 cm, width 70 cm, depth 28 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York (negative by Samuel Lothrop, 1926).

145. Stela 1, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author (from the original). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.



146

147

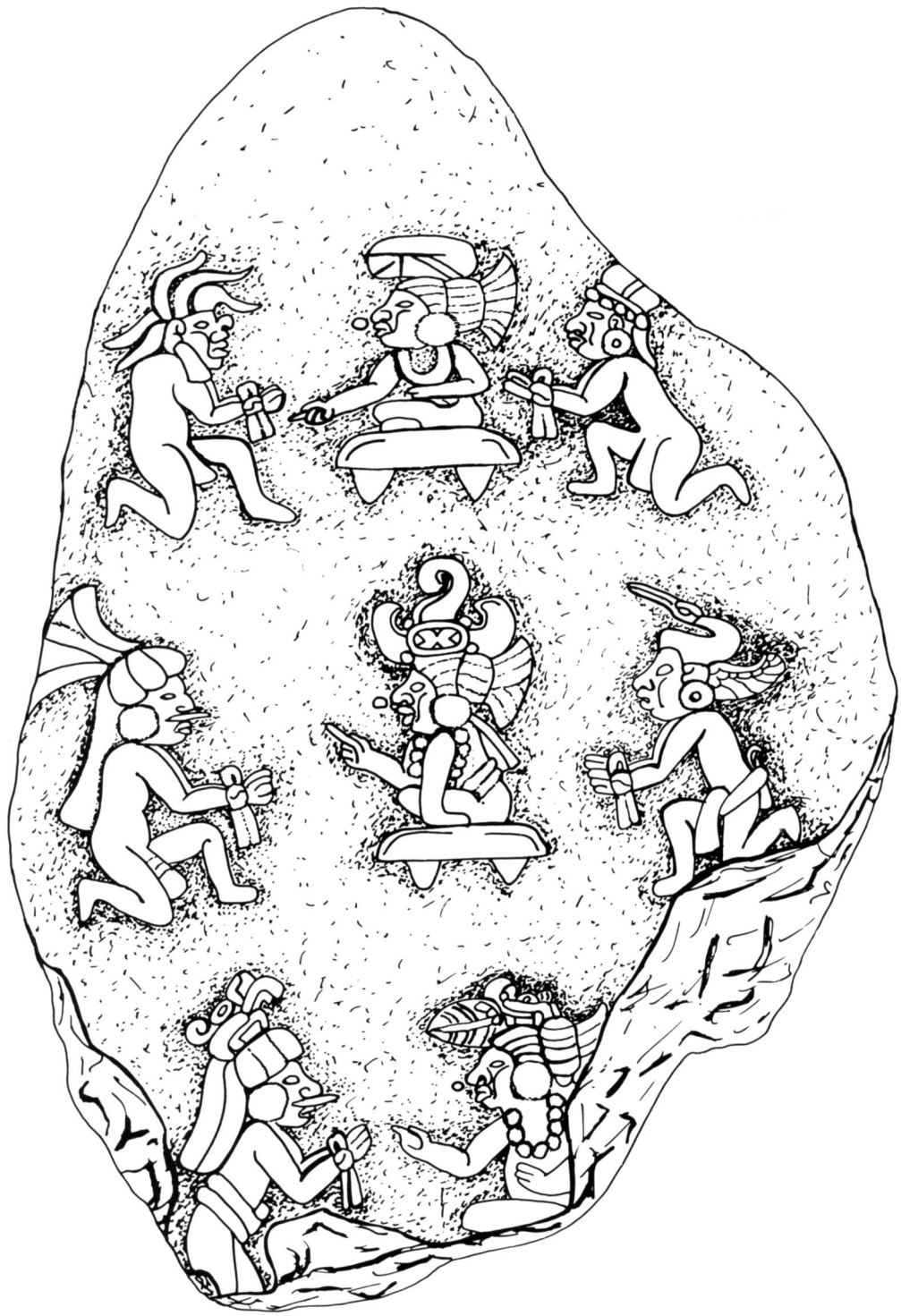


148

146. Monument 63, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana (Tomb 1). "Banquette" with carved panels. (End view projected on left.) Length 172 cm, height 60 cm, depth 29 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawing by the author (from a series of closeup photographs by Richard M. Rose). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

147. Stela 25, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. Ball player in jaws of earth monster. Height 110 cm, width 80 cm, depth 12 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

148. Stela 25, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author (from several photographs, including those supplied by the Pennsylvania State University). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

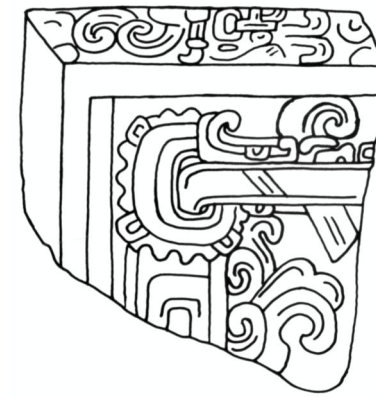


149

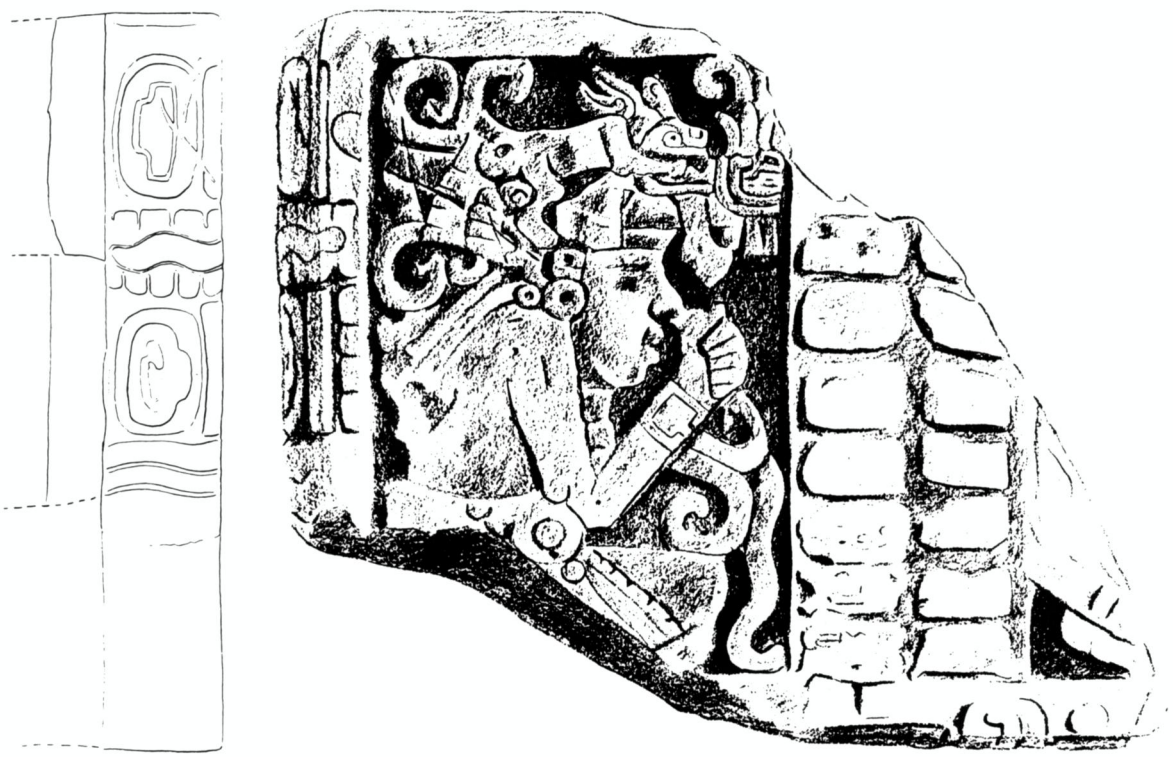
149. Monument 65, Kaminaljuyu (c. 400 meters SW of Acropolis, and 100 meters SE of Mound B-III-1). Large sculpture with three tiers of three figures. Height 290 cm, width 200 cm, depth 33 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawing by the author from a series of his closeup photographs. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

150

151



152



153

150. Stela 22, Kaminaljuyu. Fragment with human head. Height 30 cm, width 35.5 cm, depth 10 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

151. Silhouetted relief. Maximum dimension c. 50 cm. Private collection, Antigua, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Barbara Braun.

152. Altar 14, Kaminaljuyu. Four-legged fragment. Maximum dimension 55 cm, depth 9.5 cm. Jorge Castillo collection, Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Drawing by the author (from his color slide). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

153. Altar 1, Kaminaljuyu (near Mound C-II-13). Four-legged fragment with figures and glyphs (note side view drawing on left). Length 110 cm, width 91 cm, depth 22 cm. No. 2072, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from drawing by Antonio Tejeda F., reproduced in a 1973 Guatemalan calendar designed by Joya Hairs).

154

155

156

154. Silhouetted relief 4, Kaminaljuyu. Standing figure wielding axe. (The peg-base support does not show in photograph.) Height 110 cm. Alvaro Sanchez collection, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

155. Silhouetted relief sculpture. Height c. 90 cm. Lic. W. O. Schaeffer collection, Guatemala. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

156. Silhouetted relief, Department of Sacatepequez. Height 102 cm, width 45 cm, depth 8 cm. No. 2081, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

157

158

157. Stela 21, Kaminaljuyu. Mid-section fragment with figures and glyphs. Length 70 cm, width 40 cm, depth 12.5 cm. No. 8135, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

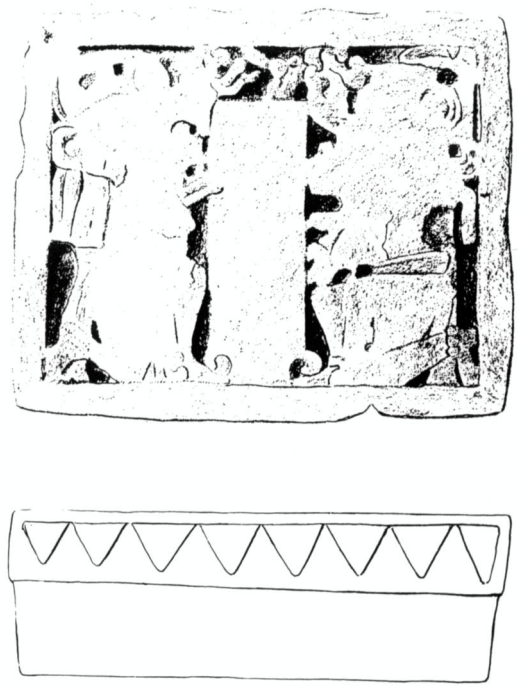
158. Stela 15, Kaminaljuyu (between low Mounds D-III-4 and D-III-15). Fragment with two standing figures and abraded glyph column. Height 95 cm, width 84 cm, depth 25 cm. No. 2373, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

159

160

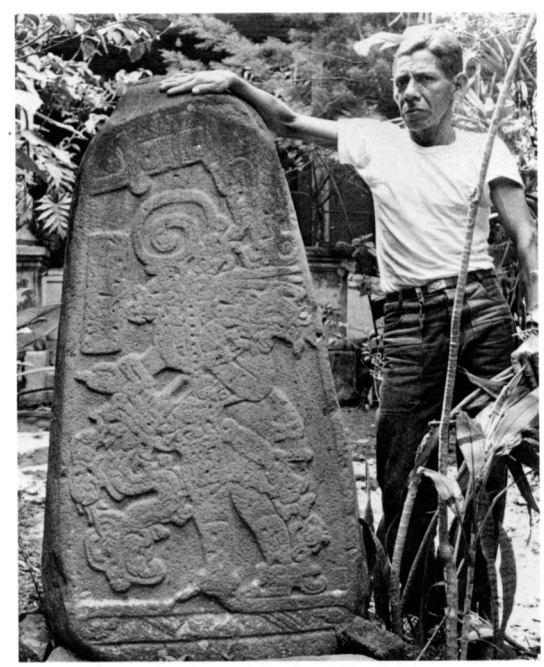
159. Stela 6, Kaminaljuyu, Mound B (F-VI-2). Figure bending over dragon. Height 70 cm, width 53 cm, depth 14 cm. No. 2819, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

160. Stela 18, Kaminaljuyu. Fragment of large monument with tassel motifs. Width 130 cm, height 74 cm, depth 19 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.



161

162



163

161. Altar 2, Kaminaljuyu, Mound B (F-VI-2). Two kneeling figures facing glyph column (note side view, *below*). Length 88 cm, width 75 cm, depth 28 cm. No. 2043, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from drawing by Antonio Tejeda F., reproduced in a 1973 Guatemalan calendar designed by Joya Hairs).

162. Stela 1, El Baul, Escuintla. (The Cycle 7 dated monument.) Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

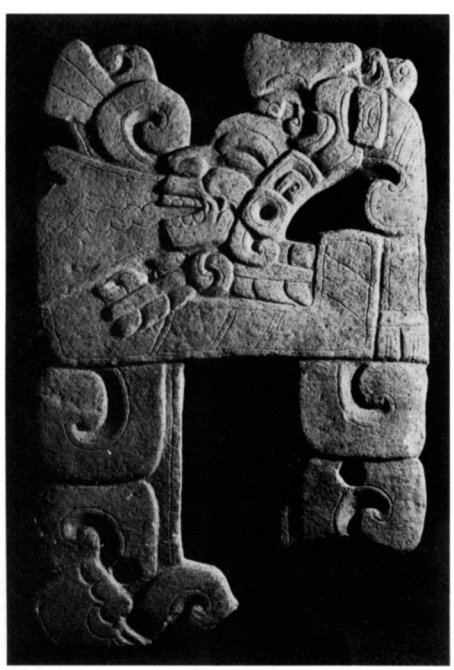
163. Stela 1, Abaj Takalik. (Related in style to Stela 1, El Baul.) Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

164

164. Silhouetted relief 2, Kaminaljuyu, Acropolis C-II-4. Ball game marker. Height 170 cm, ring diameter 58 cm. No. 8136, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

165. Silhouetted relief from Santa Cruz Quiche, Guatemala. Height 137 cm. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York. Photograph courtesy of the museum.

166



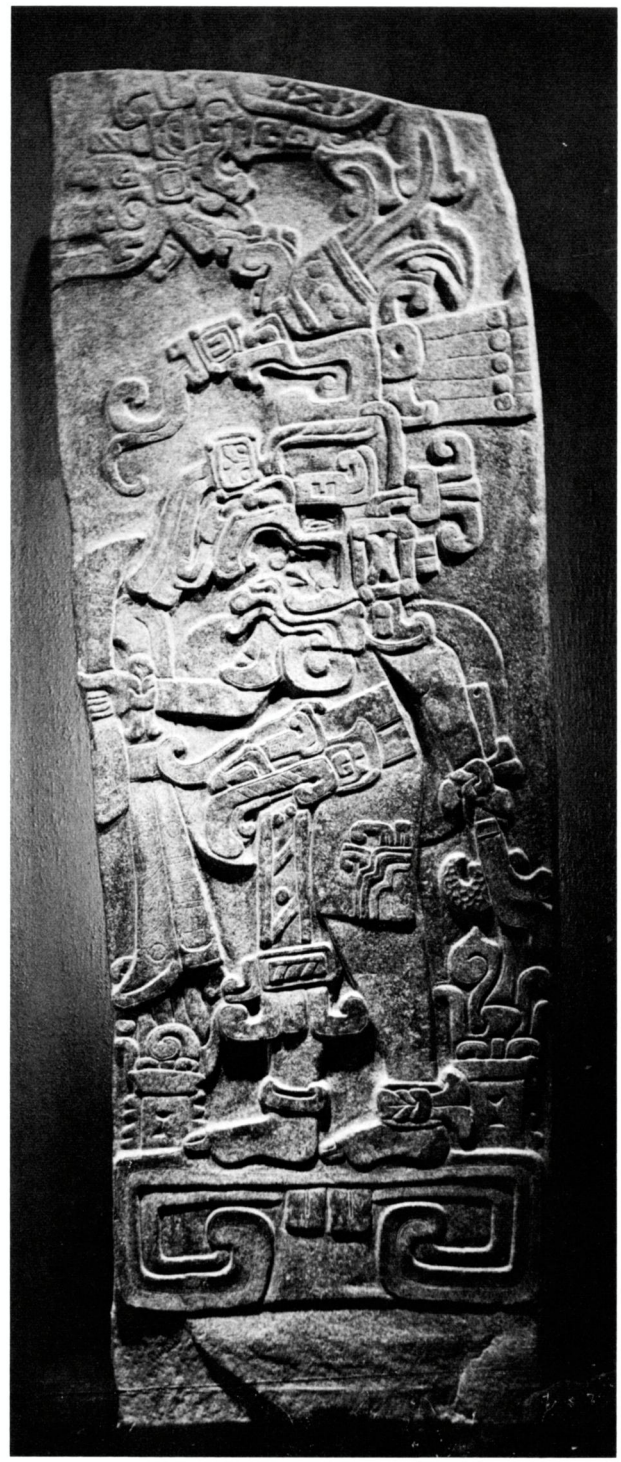
167

168

166. Silhouetted relief 11, Kaminaljuyu. Left-facing dragon fragment. Length 65 cm, height 35 cm, depth 6.5 cm. No. 4281, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

167. Silhouetted relief 3, Kaminaljuyu. Human head and dragons. Height 62 cm, width 39 cm, depth 6 cm. Private collection, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.

168. Silhouetted relief fragment 7, Kaminaljuyu. Finca Las Charcas. Height 28 cm. Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Photograph courtesy of the museum.



169

169. Stela 11, Kaminaljuyu (D-III district). Elaborate standing figure with Izapan features. Height 183 cm, width 70 cm, depth c. 30 cm. No. 3093, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Harold G. Russell.

170

171

170. Stela 3, Abaj Takalik (fragment, lower half). Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

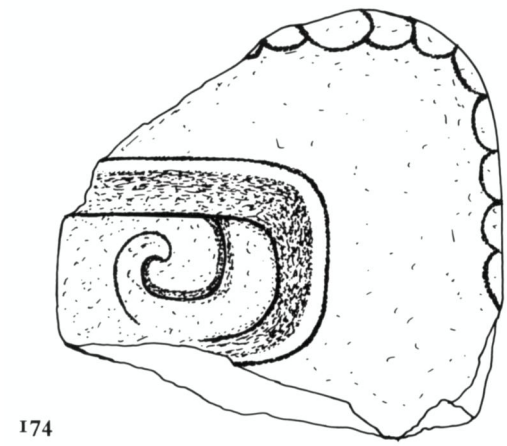
171. Stela 26, Kaminaljuyu; Lower Plaza, Palangana. (Detail of carved base band.) Total estimated height of the two sections c. 300 cm, width 94 cm, depth 32 cm. Parque de Kaminaljuyu. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

172

173

172. Stela 12, Kaminaljuyu. Lower fragment, with dragon on base line. Height 60 cm, width 65 cm, depth 12 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

173. Stela 28, Kaminaljuyu. (Detail, upper portion, with monster in panel.) Width 133 cm, present height 53 cm, depth 9 cm. Jorge Castillo collection, Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of the museum.



174

175

174. Monument 56, Kaminaljuyu (south edge of Mound E-III-5). Stone with scroll panel. C. 70 cm square and c. 38 cm depth. No. 2374, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawing by the author (from photographs by Edwin M. Shook). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.

175. Stela 10, Kaminaljuyu (D-III district). Miraflores "black altar" (three joined fragments). Present length and width 107 × 122 cm, depth c. 100 cm. Nos. 2324 and 8138, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawing by Guillermo Grajeda Mena (from Girard 1966: pl. 194).

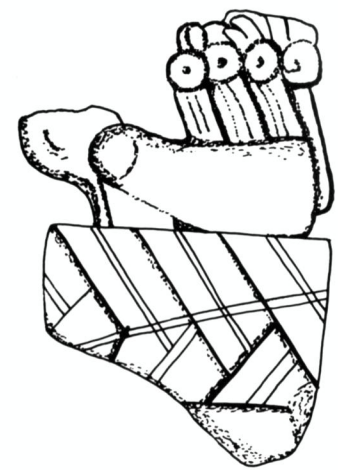
176

177

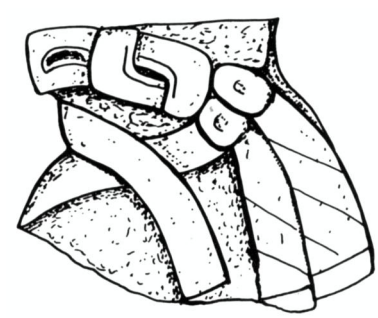
176. Stela fragment from Chocola, Suchitepequez. Figure with trophy heads. Present maximum width c. 60 cm. The University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. Photograph courtesy of the museum.

177. Stela 8, Kaminaljuyu. Abraded fragment with figures. Height 110 cm, width 97 cm, depth 22 cm. No. 2052, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

178



179



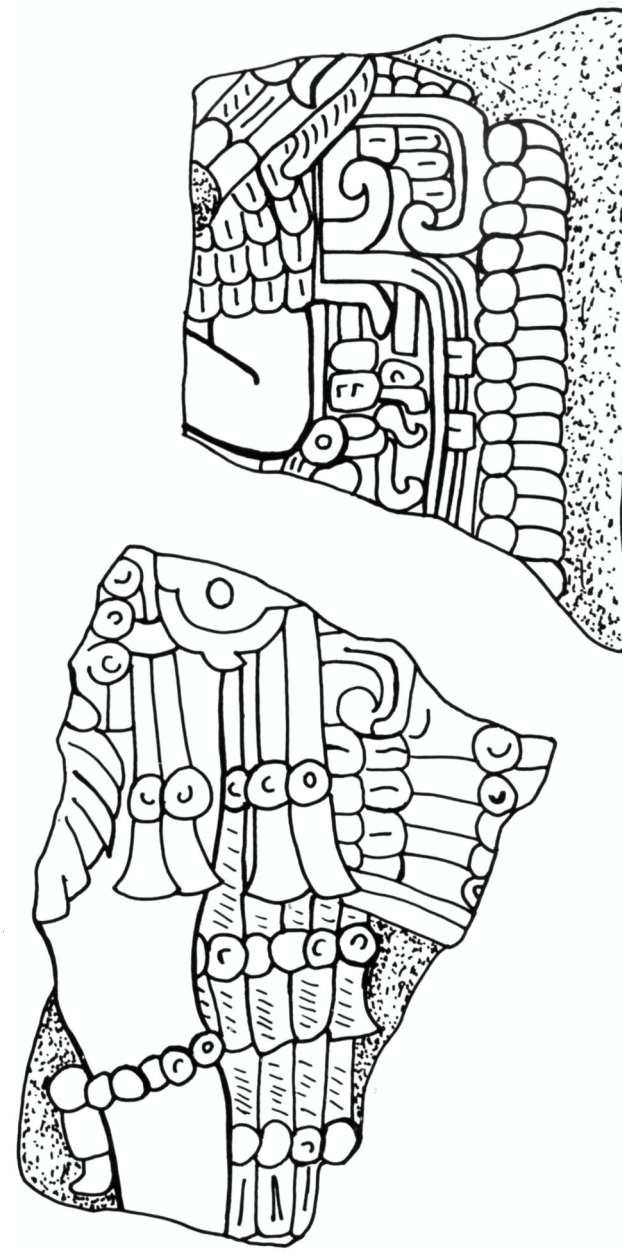
180

178. Silhouetted relief 1, Kaminaljuyu (west of Mound C-IV-4). Mid-section fragment of human figure. Height 46 cm, width 51 cm, depth 7 cm. No. 2235 Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

179. Silhouetted relief 10, Kaminaljuyu (C-V district). Human leg fragment. Height 47 cm, width 33 cm, depth 6 cm. No. 3980, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

180. Silhouetted relief fragments 12 and 13, Kaminaljuyu. (*lower*) Silhouette 12. Height 18 cm, width 19 cm, depth 5 cm. No. 3986, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. (*upper*) Silhouette 13. Height 29 cm, width 19 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawings by the author. Inked renderings by Ryntha Johnson.

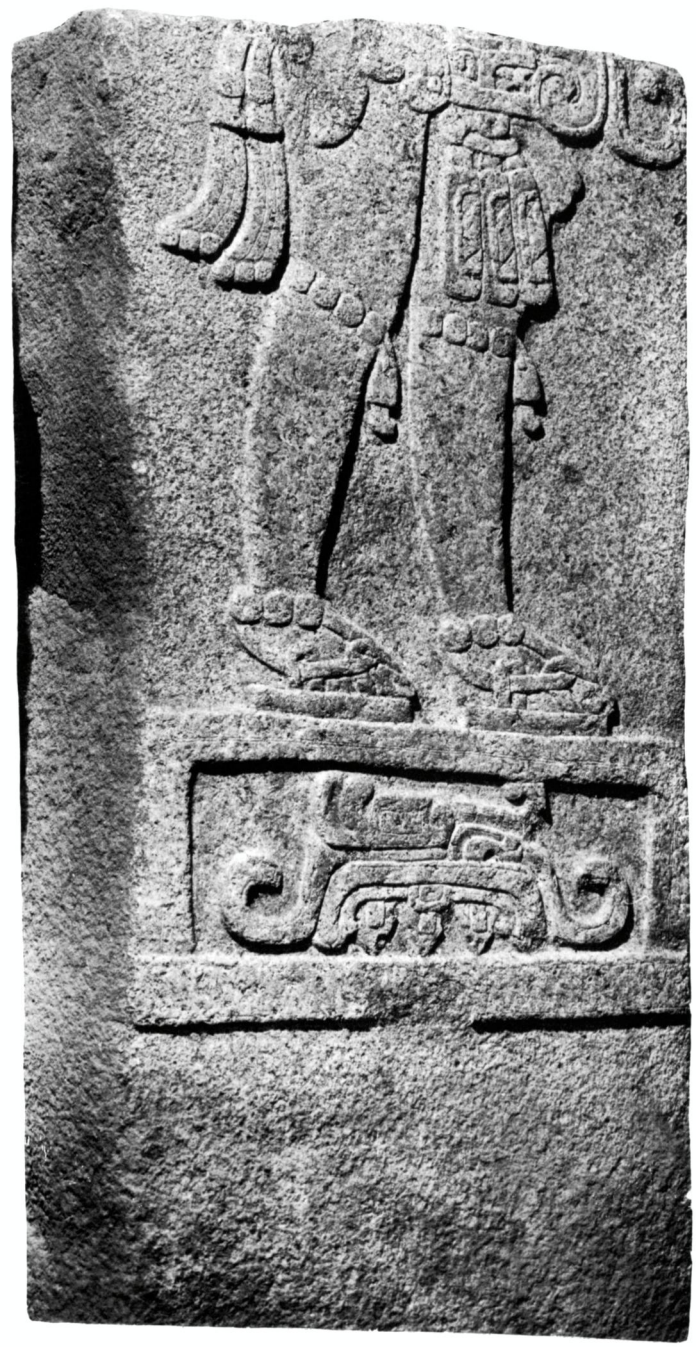
181



182

181. Silhouetted relief 8, Kaminaljuyu, Mound C-III-11. Two fragments of life-sized human figure. Total assembled height c. 90 cm (height of pedestal base 25 cm), width c. 30 cm. Depth of both, 6.5 cm. No. 3997, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photographs courtesy of Joya Hairs.

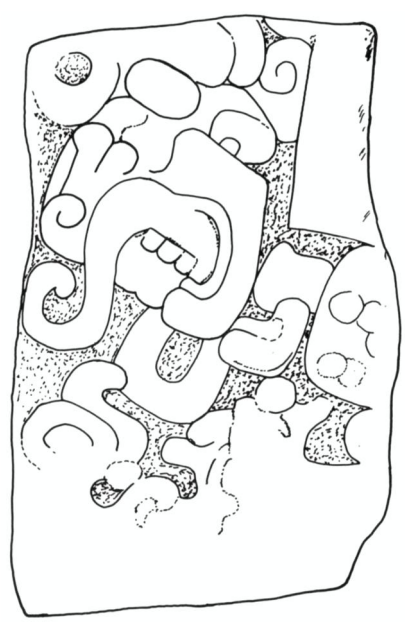
182. Stela 2, Kaminaljuyu (lower section found northeast of Mound C-IV-8). Two parts of one monument with elaborately costumed standing figure. Reconstructed total height of fragments as drawn, c. 120 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Drawings by the author (after photographs). Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.



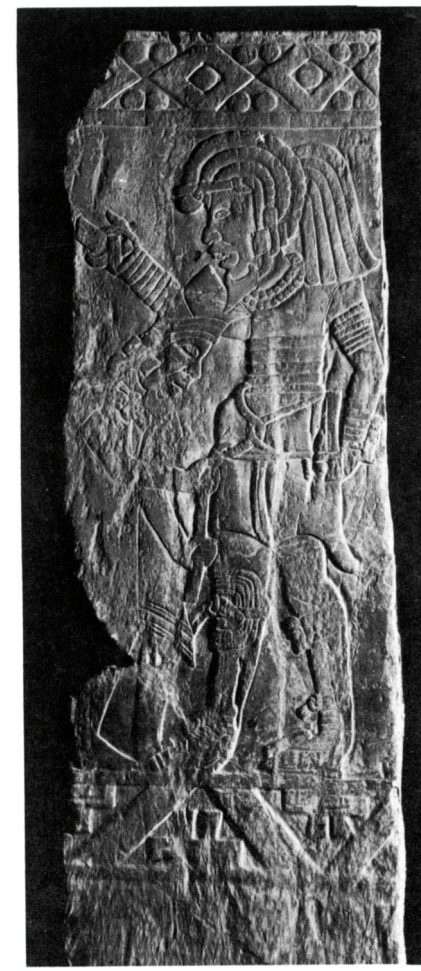
183

183. Monument 42, Bilbao, Escuintla. Lower half of stela (part of the plain base is out of view). Total height 182 cm, width 65 cm, depth 43 cm. Ricardo Muñoz collection, Finca Las Ilusiones, Santa Lucia Cotzumalguapa. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

184



186

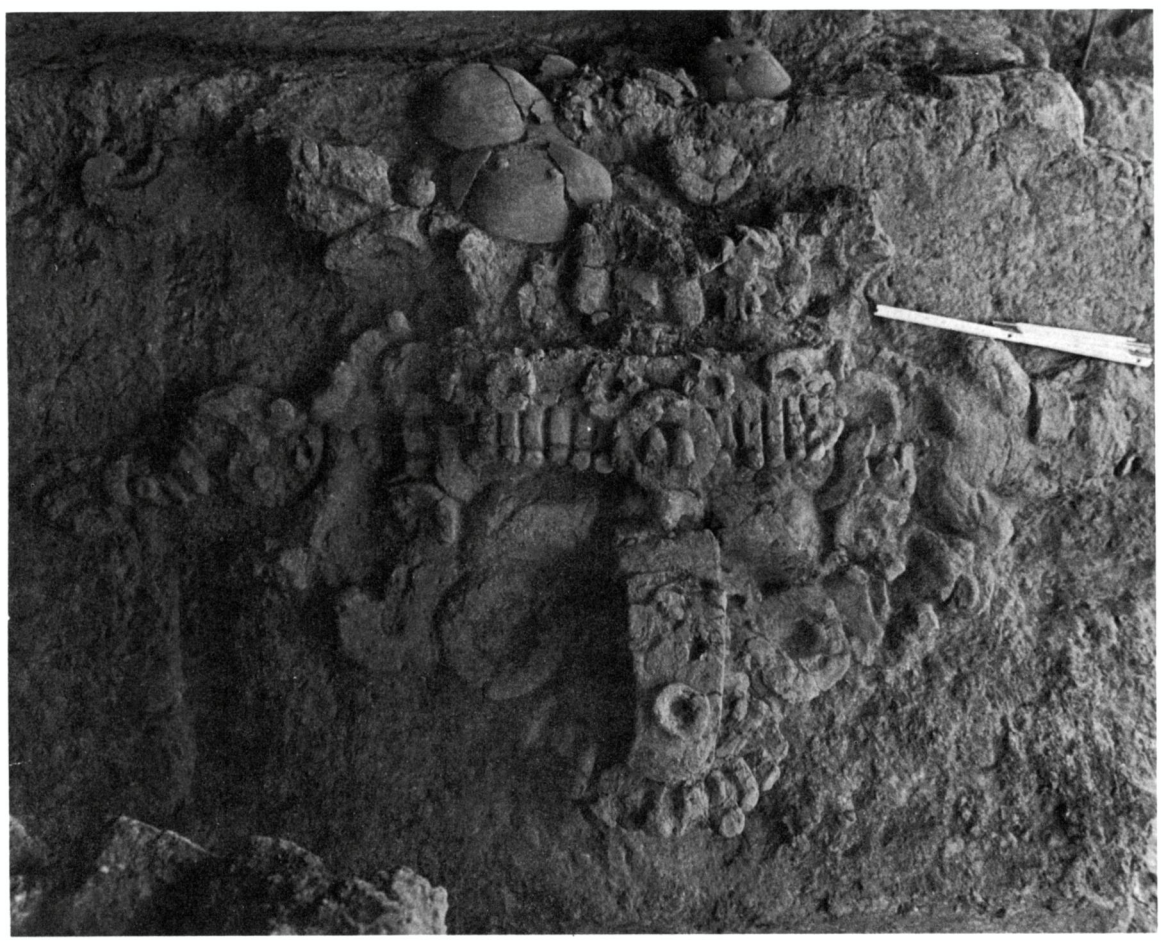


185

Figure 184. Monument from Veracruz. Upended monster wtih low-relief figure in jaws. Height c. 120 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

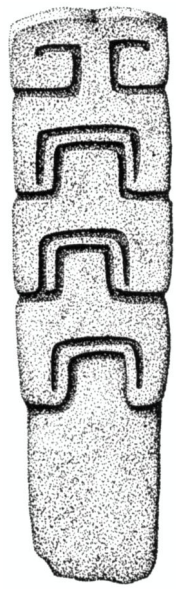
186. Stela 2, El Mirador, Peten, Guatemala. Back side, with dragon profile, of earliest Maya style. Present height 98 cm, width 74 cm, depth 25 cm. Redrawn, with permission, from original field sketch by Ian Graham, Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

185. Stela from Tepatlaxco, Veracruz. Ball player with attendant. Height 184 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.



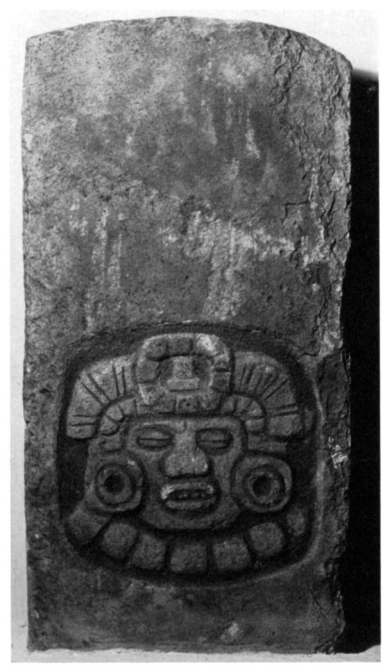
187

187. Adobe relief, Kaminaljuyu. Long-snouted architectural mask on terrace of Aurora phase Mound D-III-1. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.



188

189

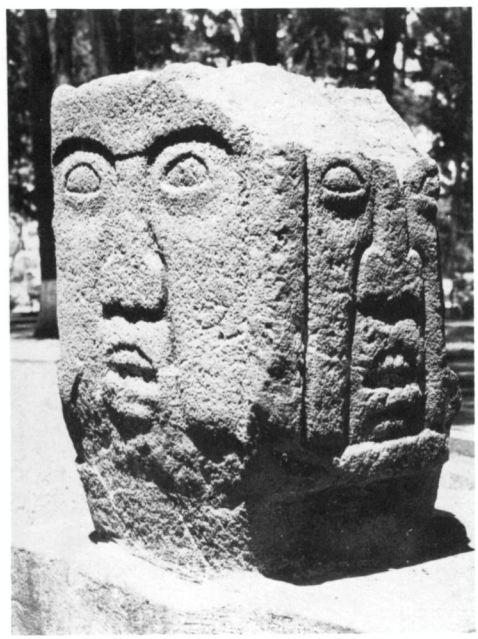


190

188. Stela 13, Kaminaljuyu. Stylized rattlesnake tail. Height c. 70 cm. Private collection, Guatemala. Drawing by David Staff, Milwaukee (after Miles 1965: fig. 9b).

189. Stone panel, Tuzapan, Veracruz. Cross-armed squatting figure. Height c. 75 cm. Regional Museum, Jalapa, Veracruz. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

190. Stela 23, Kaminaljuyu. Panel with Teotihuacanoid face. Height 87 cm, width 45 cm, depth 11 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph courtesy of Joya Hairs.



191

192

193

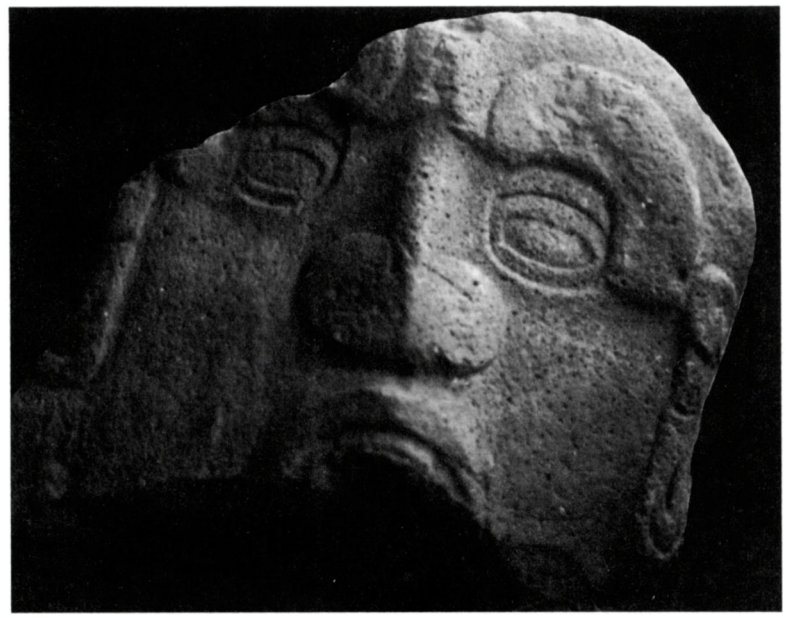
194

191. Two sides of Monument 10, Kaminaljuyu (first reported near Mound C-IV-8). Vertically tenoned block with four human faces (the base is buried in a cement pedestal). Height 95 cm, width and depth 60 × 43 cm. No. 2065, Museo Nacional, Guatemala (Aurora Park Zoo). Photograph courtesy of Alain Ichon.

192. Monument 12, Kaminaljuyu. Human head fragment. Height 43 cm, width 47 cm, depth 40 cm. No. 2059, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

193. Monument 61, Kaminaljuyu (south of Acropolis C-II-14). Large human head. Height 100 cm, width 79 cm, depth 65 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author.

194. Monument 61, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.



195

196

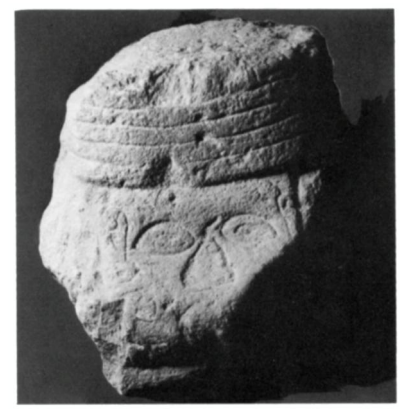
197

196. Head sculpture of unknown south coast provenience. Height 75 cm. No. 2131, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

195. Monument 7, Abaj Takalik. Large human head. Maximum dimension 77 cm. Photograph courtesy of Alain Ichon.

197. Monument 1, Finca Santa Clara, Santa Rosa. Large human head. Height 84 cm, width 64 cm, depth 45 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

191



192

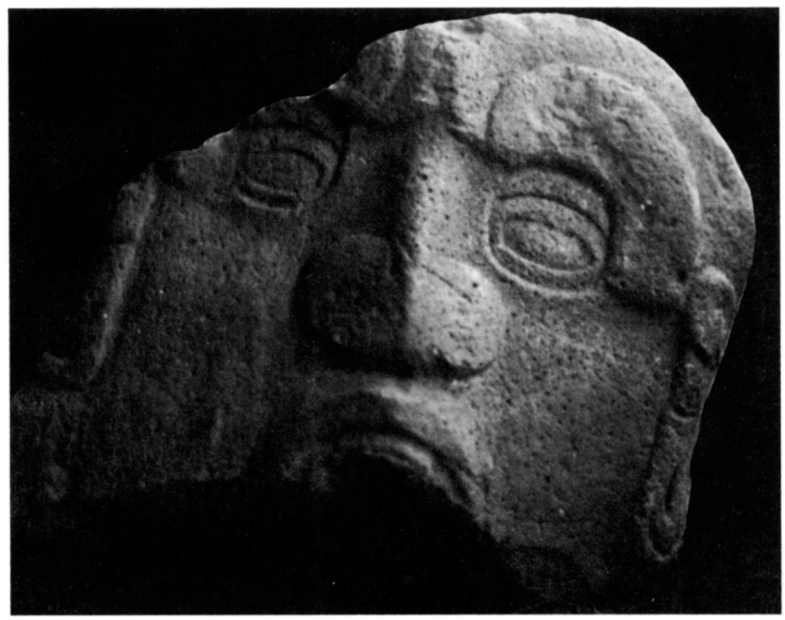
193

191. Two sides of Monument 10, Kaminaljuyu (first reported near Mound C-IV-8). Vertically tenoned block with four human faces (the base is buried in a cement pedestal). Height 95 cm, width and depth 60 × 43 cm. No. 2065, Museo Nacional, Guatemala (Aurora Park Zoo). Photograph courtesy of Alain Ichon.

192. Monument 12, Kaminaljuyu. Human head fragment. Height 43 cm, width 47 cm, depth 40 cm. No. 2059, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

193. Monument 61, Kaminaljuyu (south of Acropolis C-II-14). Large human head. Height 100 cm, width 79 cm, depth 65 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author.

194. Monument 61, Kaminaljuyu. Drawing by the author. Inked rendering by Ryntha Johnson.



195

196

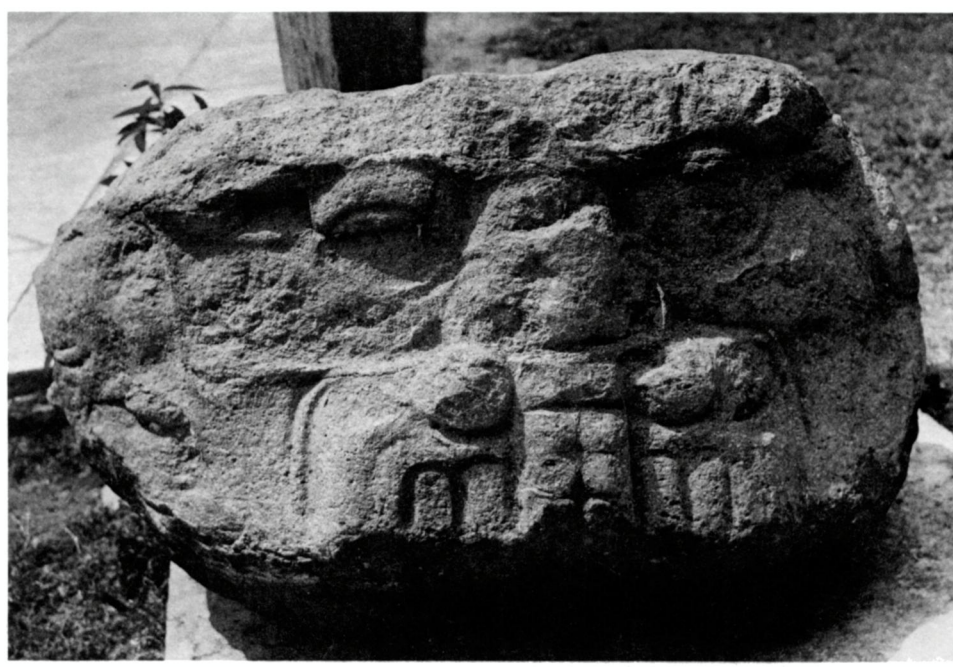
197

196. Head sculpture of unknown south coast provenience. Height 75 cm. No. 2131, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

195. Monument 7, Abaj Takalik. Large human head. Maximum dimension 77 cm. Photograph courtesy of Alain Ichon.

197. Monument 1, Finca Santa Clara, Santa Rosa. Large human head. Height 84 cm, width 64 cm, depth 45 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

198

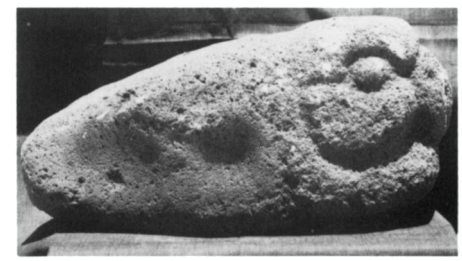


199

198. Monument 2. Finca Santa Clara, Santa Rosa. Human head. Height 56 cm, width 53 cm, depth 33 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

199. Monument 4, Finca Santa Clara, Santa Rosa. Large human head with "Tlaloc" mouth. Height 58 cm, width 94 cm, depth 80 cm. Photograph by Francis E. Ross.

200



201

202

203

200. Monument 31, Kaminaljuyu, Ball Court B (C-II-7). Horizontally tenoned human head. Length 62 cm, height 35 cm, width 30 cm. No. 2060, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from drawing by Antonio Tejeda F., reproduced in a 1973 calendar designed by Joya Hairs).

201. Monument 32, Kaminaljuyu, Ball Court G (B-III-5). Horizontally tenoned parrot head. (Similar in size to Monument 31.) No. 2806, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by Edwin M. Shook, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

202. Monument 34, Kaminaljuyu, Ball Court A (C-II-4). Horizontally tenoned jaguar head. Length 95 cm, height 50 cm, width 43 cm. Museo Nacional, Guatemala (Aurora Park Zoo). Photograph by Richard M. Rose, courtesy of Edwin M. Shook.

203. Monument 29, Kaminaljuyu, Ball Court A (C-II-4). Horizontally tenoned parrot head with human head (unfortunately not visible in this photo) in its beak. Length 145 cm, height 70 cm, width 37 cm. No. 2087, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

204

205

206

205. Monument 28, Kaminaljuyu, Ball Court F (?). Horizontally tenoned serpent head. Length 88 cm, height 48 cm, width 30 cm. No. 2086, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from drawing by Antonio Tejeda F., reproduced in a 1973 calendar designed by Joya Hairs).

204. Monument 26, Kaminaljuyu, Ball Court F (F-V-1). Horizontally tenoned serpent head. Length 125 cm, height 70 cm, width 20 cm. No. 2049, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

206. Monument 14, Kaminaljuyu. Vertically tenoned serpent head. Length 76 cm, height 59 cm, width 22 cm. No. 2067, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from drawing by Antonio Tejeda F., as in Fig. 205).

207

208

209

207. Monument 23, Kaminaljuyu. Horizontally tenoned serpent head. Length 69 cm, height 43 cm, width 18 cm. No. 2061, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Copy photograph (from drawing by Antonio Tejeda F., as in Fig. 205).

208. Monument 25, Kaminaljuyu. Serpent-head fragment. Length 100 cm, height 68 cm, width 50 cm. No. 578, Museo Nacional, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.

209. Monument 33, Kaminaljuyu. Serpent head, probably recarved from Preclassic Stela 1. Length 90 cm, height 68 cm, depth 30 cm. Jorge Castillo collection, Museo Popol Vuh, Guatemala. Photograph by the author, courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum.